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THE WHITMAN CONTROVERSY.

ARTICLES BY

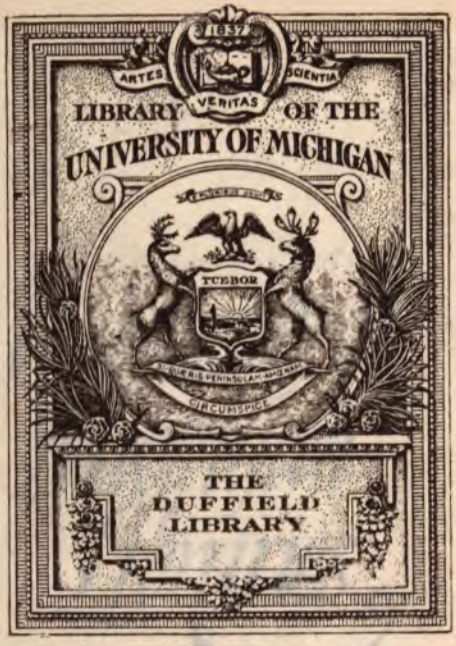
ED. C. ROSS, REV. M. EELLS AND W. H. GRAY,

IN REPLY TO

MRS. F. F. VICTOR AND ELWOOD EVANS,

Whose Contributions appeared in the *Oregonian* of November 7th and December 26th, 1884, and February 8th and 15th, 1885, respectively.

PORTLAND, OREGON:
GEO. H. HIMES, BOOK AND JOB PRINTER.
1885.



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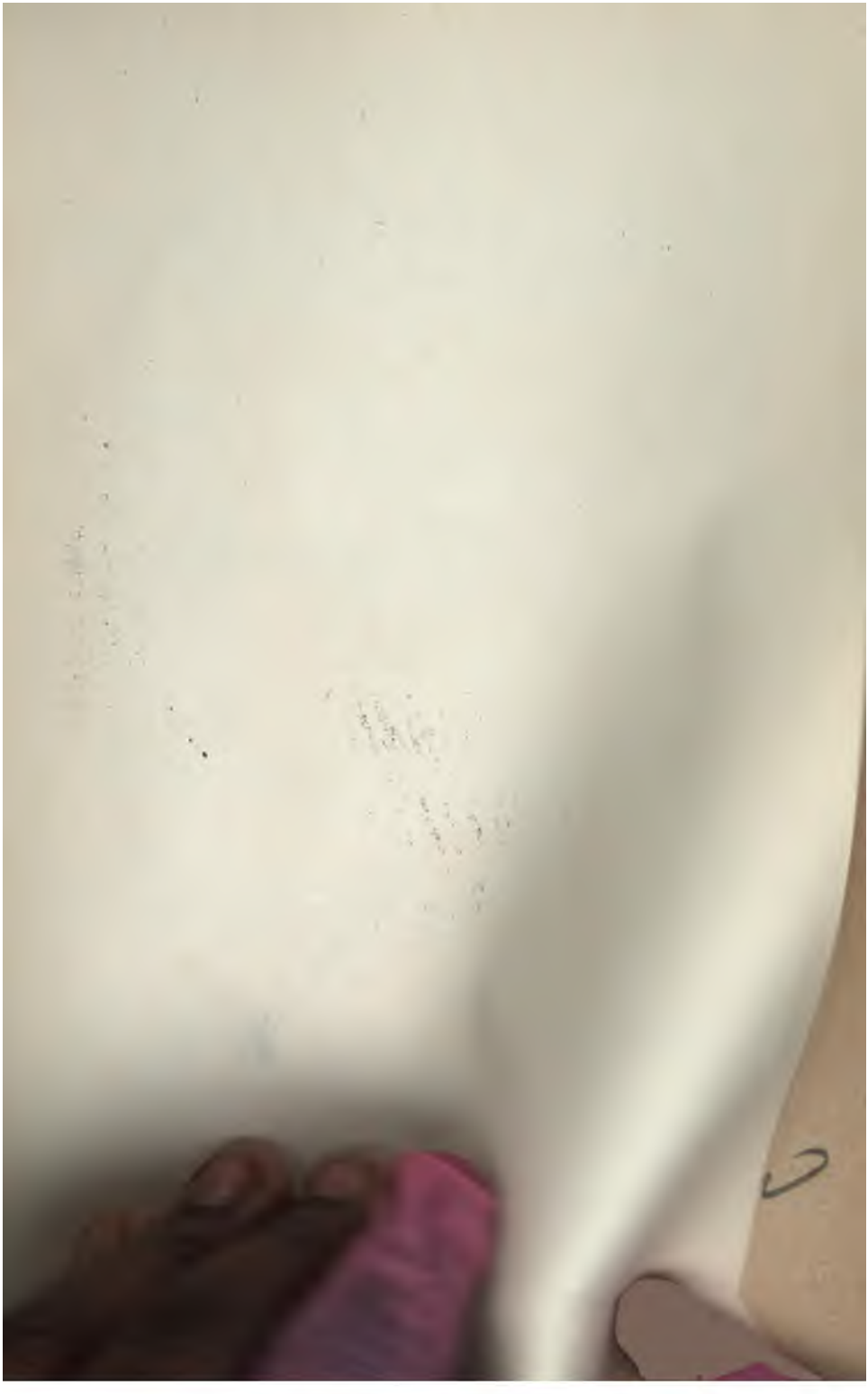

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THE

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W. H. Gray
Astoria
Oregon

PORTLAND, OREGON:
GEO. H. HIMES, BOOK AND JOB PRINTER.
1885.

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NOTE.

The attention of those who read this pamphlet is called to the fact that neither Mr. Ross nor Mr. Eells knew that the other had made an answer to Mrs. Victor's effusion against Dr. Whitman and the mission.

The Hon. Elwood Evans has placed himself in an unfortunate position. The facts stated, and the quotations made, will aid the reader to a correct conclusion concerning the subject at issue.

Gift
Tappan Presb. Ass
3-28-1932

[From the *Oregonian* of December 9, 1884.]

DR. MARCUS WHITMAN.

BY ED. C. ROSS.

PRESCOTT, W. T., November 29, 1884.

To the Editor of the Oregonian:

This being the thirty-seventh anniversary of the Whitman massacre, it seems not an inappropriate time in which to answer some of the aspersions cast upon the dead missionary by Mrs. F. F. Victor, through the columns of the *Oregonian*, in its issue of November 7th.

She therein accuses Dr. Whitman with falsehood, deception, office-seeking, trying to deprive the Indians of their lands, trying to enrich himself at their expense, and at the expense of the emigrants, yet has not one word of commendation for any act of his life. As thirty-seven years have passed since our valley was reddened by the blood of this man, to whom Mrs. Victor denies the crown of martyr, it would seem that she might have found a more graceful work than that of dragging the murdered missionary from his grave, to heap such opprobrium on his memory as hitherto has never been done, even by his most bitter enemy. In her ghoulish work Mrs. Victor outdoes all other calumniators of the dead. For more than forty years it has been claimed by his most intimate acquaintances and co-workers in the missionary cause, that in the winter of 1842-3 Dr. Whitman did make the horseback journey from here to the Atlantic States, and that he did visit Washington city, for the purpose of showing to the government the importance of Oregon as related to the United States. Also, that he was, in some degree at least, successful in the object of his mission. If this be true, his countrymen owe him a debt of gratitude that they do not seem in a hurry to pay, as his bones lie in a neglected grave, unmarked by stone or tablet. The idea is scouted that this "uncouth missionary" could have enlightened Daniel Webster about Oregon, because Mr. Webster had aspired to the presidency in 1836.

Was it not this same Mr. Webster who once said that California would never raise a bushel of wheat or a pound of wool? In matters of constitutional law, or international politics, he had no superior; but after a residence of six years in this country, Dr. Whitman's knowledge, gained by actual experience, was vastly better than any that Mr. Webster could possibly have had, touching the actual value of this country. At that time Mr. Webster probably held the popular belief that our "inland empire" was a barren desert. For many years before, and up to 1842, all the grain, and most of the vegetables, used at Fort Walla Walla, had been carried twenty-five miles; as it was not thought possible to raise anything on the sage brush and bunchgrass lands in that vicinity. Now, however, you may stand at the old fort, and behold thousands of acres of land that produce such crops as would make even Daniel Webster, were he still alive, admit that he had, a long time ago, underrated this country, and its importance as related to the United States.

I will not undertake to say just how much weight Dr. Whitman's representations had with either Mr. Webster or President Tyler, but there can be no doubt in which direction it fell. In the spring of 1842 negotiations were pending between our government and that of Great Britain, looking to an adjustment of boundary between this country and the British Possessions. Parties who started across the plains at that time arrived at Whitman's mission in the autumn, and told the Doctor of these negotiations. It is but fair and natural to suppose that the Doctor, as well as his informant, thought that these negotiations would, or at least might, settle the line clear through—from ocean to ocean. He knew the Hudson's Bay Company could be relied on to give information to the English concerning the value of this country, but who could be expected to give much information to our government? He determined to impose the task on himself. The hardships, dangers and suffering that he underwent on that journey are certainly greater than are usually borne by the ordinary man of to-day, who makes the pilgrimage to see the president and ask for some of the "loaves and fishes."

But before Dr. Whitman arrived in Washington the pending negotiations had been cut short, by cutting the boundary line in two. The eastern portion had been settled by the Ashburton treaty—the western portion, and the portion that related to Oregon, remained to be settled. It was settled by the treaty of 1846, and it was upon

this latter treaty that Dr. Whitman's actions brought forth fruit. I say actions, for it was actions and not words, that finally settled the Oregon boundary, as I will try to prove further on. In 1841 the Hudson's Bay Company had started an immigration from Red River to Oregon, that reached their destination in the latter part of the year 1842. Mrs. Victor has it in 1841, but the better authority is against her. These were to settle north of the Columbia river, and Sir George Simpson was to turn up in Washington about this time, to show that the English had the most numerous settlement in the country, and on this basis draw the line at least as far south as the Columbia. It appears to me that this was a plausible scheme, and one that might have had weight had the negotiations concerning the Oregon boundary still been pending. At the time Doctor Whitman started from here neither he nor the Hudson's Bay people, in this country, doubted that such negotiations were still pending, and while he was fighting his way over plain and mountain, through storm and flood, to reach Washington in time to do his country a service, Sir George Simpson was approaching from the other direction. On his arrival at London in November, 1842, he doubtless learned that the negotiations had been suspended, while Dr. Whitman was still pressing on his journey through the wilderness in ignorance of this fact. This turn of affairs made it unnecessary for Mr. Simpson to go on to Washington at that time, probably, yet as to whether or not he was there later in the winter does not appear to me to be either certain or important. But had things gone on as was expected, there is no doubt that either he, or some other agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, would have appeared on the scene to fully represent British interests on this coast.

The Doctor's idea from the start appears to have been this: First, to arrive in Washington before the Oregon boundary line should be settled, and then impress upon the minds of those having the matter in hand the real merit and value of this country. If by so doing he could delay the negotiations, he proposed to show that it was possible, and even practicable, to settle Oregon with an American population overland. To do this he proposed to aid in bringing a wagon train of emigrants across the Rocky Mountains, and on to the Columbia river—a thing that had never before been accomplished by man, but a thing, also, that he had more nearly accomplished than any other person, in the year 1836. In that year Messrs. Whitman and Spalding brought the first wagons across the Rocky Mountains, and brought a cart as far as Fort Boise. Yet

Mrs. Victor intimates that the Doctor told an untruth when he, on his visit to the States, told those desirous of crossing the plains, that they could bring their wagons through the Rocky Mountains, as he had done that thing six years before; but if she will state the geographical fact that Forts Hall and Boise are both west of the Rockies, then she will find that it is only she that has made a mistake, and not Whitman. Between the years 1826 and 1843, Col. Joe Meek, Mrs. Victor's "hero," had solved the remainder of the problem of crossing the continent in wagons, by taking a wagon from Fort Hall to Whitman's mission. She reluctantly gives Whitman credit for assisting in marking out the route from Fort Hall to Grand Ronde—she gives John Gaunt credit for piloting the main body of immigration as far as to Fort Hall, but fails to say that seven years before, Dr. Whitman had, with his own wagon tires, marked this portion of the route for John Gaunt. So chary is she of giving credit to the Doctor that she quotes Applegate as saying that the Doctor's principal service was in showing one wing of the emigrants where to ford Snake river, and in the next note she quotes the same man as saying that he alone paid the Doctor $45. For what? For showing him where to ford the river? If the lady is really digging for a truth mine she certainly has not struck it in paying quantities in this place.

No one will claim that Dr. Whitman, alone, saved Oregon to the United States, yet we have no record of any one who underwent such hardships and perils as he did for the purpose. On the other hand, it can not be successfully maintained that he was an unimportant factor in accomplishing the end he aimed at. Certain it is that he worked zealously at Washington, and it is not probable that his words and deeds were forgotten, even when the administration changed, and when the Oregon question was finally settled three years later.

While it can not be truly said, as some of his admirers have claimed, that he raised an emigration and brought them out to occupy the country, it is, nevertheless, true that he gave all the advice, counsel and encouragement to those who were desirous of making the trip that he could, before starting, and that he rendered them great assistance throughout the journey, as guide and otherwise. As an offset, Mrs. Victor tells us that the emigrants hauled the Doctor's provisions. She tells us that he had been six years with the Indians without having benefited or conciliated them; yet he and his associates had printed books in the Indian tongue;

had taught them to read and write; had taught them to farm on a small scale; had built a mill to grind their grain; had introduced cattle, sheep, hogs and fowls among them. The Doctor showed his wisdom in trying to anchor them to fixed habitations as a preliminary step to civilizing them. But the Doctor's Cayuse Indians bathed their hands in his blood, and as a retribution the place that knew them as a powerful nation knows them no more. Only a handful remains, and although beads and crosses have been bestowed on them freely by the same religious organization that the Doctor dreaded, Mrs. Victor would probably hesitate to say that they have been benefited by the change from the influence of the Doctor to that of those who now have their spiritual welfare in charge.

The Lapwai Mission, under charge of Mr. Spalding, in the Nez Perce country, as well as that of Messrs. Eells and Walker, among the Spokanes, were further off the line of travel and further removed from opposing influences, either religious or otherwise. These Indians did not murder their missionaries, but protected them, and to this day may be seen springing up some of the good seed sown by the missionaries among them forty years ago. It is not a month since I talked with a lady who is one of the children who survived the Whitman massacre. She had just returned from the old Lapwai Mission—her birthplace. She there found many of the old mission Indians who still held to the teachings of the missionaries. Among them was one old Indian who still lives in what is left of the old mission building, which he has occupied for thirty-seven years—ever since the missionaries were compelled to abandon the field of their labor. He told her that he intended to die in that house. The benefits of the missionary work are not all obliterated there, although so many years have passed.

As to conciliation, there would have been nothing to conciliate, neither would the massacre have followed, but for the interference of outside parties who poisoned the minds of the Indians against their best friends, the missionaries. About the time of the Doctor's departure for Washington, a report was circulated among the Indians that the whites from the Willamette valley intended to come up next spring and kill off all the Indians. A French and Indian half-breed—Dorion—interpreter to the Hudson's Bay Company, was busy with this story, and to those who know how much more readily an Indian will believe a lie than the truth, it will not be a matter of surprise that this story was credited by them. At whose instance this story was put in circulation we will leave Mrs. Victor

to "speculate" upon, as she appears to be of a speculative turn of mind. It is safe for me to say it was not done by Americans, yet it left the missionaries in a dangerous and disagreeable predicament, but it was by no fault of theirs.

She claims that Dr. Whitman was making money off the Indians, but says that the mission was not self-supporting—in consequence of which the home board had ordered him to abandon his mission. If we leave out of consideration any interest that he may have felt in the Indians, he certainly would have been loth to comply with this order, for his field of operations would have at once been occupied by the Catholics—the staunch friends of the Hudson's Bay Company, and consequently favorable to British interests, although Mrs. Victor tells us that Catholic priests do not meddle with politics. Soon, instead of a settlement of American citizens, we would have had a settlement of British subjects occupying the ground that would have been abandoned by Dr. Whitman. Every impulse of this truly patriotic American must have revolted at the thought. Well was it, then, for American interests that he held his ground.

Mrs. Victor denies that Dr. Whitman could have believed that he might reach Washington before the boundary negotiations should be completed, yet he did so, and had some three years to spare. She claims that his real object was to establish himself in some government office—then asks why he did not bring out an emigration and a commission in his pocket, as Dr. White had done. Her course of reasoning seems to be about this: as Dr. Whitman did not return with a commission, that fact proves that a commission was what he went for. She quotes from a letter of Dr. Whitman in which he mentions the "secret service fund." This she claims was a scheme of the Doctor's for his own private benefit. It seems that his idea was for the government to give the Indians sheep in payment for their lands, instead of paying them off in annuities with money, beads and blankets—a good scheme, surely, for the Indians. He could see that at no distant day the whites would begin to encroach, and he wanted to avoid trouble by paying the Indians for their lands.

She accuses Dr. Whitman with deceit, because he did not tell McKinlay that his mission to Washington was for the purpose of securing Oregon to the United States. What a foolish thing it would have been for him to take into his confidence the commandant of a Hudson's Bay post? In this instance friendhip might have

been lain aside so far as that means might have been found to prevent the Doctor from ever reaching his destination.

She accuses him of giving Eells and Walker the slip, inasmuch as he started on the 3d instead of waiting until the 5th of October. The urgency of the case, as he deemed it, and the lateness of the season, would argue against a minute's unnecessary delay. With such a journey before her, and at such a time of year, would Mrs. Victor have delayed her starting for two days, just for the sake of making a mounted postoffice of herself? Then this (presumably) fair calumniator of the dead doubts that Whitman ever visited Washington. Why not doubt that he went to the States at all, as both propositions rest on the same foundation—the assertions of the Doctor and his then associates? The same reason that prevented his telling McKinlay where he was going would have prevented his telling him where he had been, after his return. He was living in an Indian country. The only authority respected by the Indians was that of the Hudson's Bay Company. To antagonize this company might have hastened the fate that finally befell him and his family.

She also tells us that on his departure Dr. Whitman confided his wife to the care of McKinlay. Did she receive it? Not long after his departure the mission mill was burned by Indians, and Mrs. Whitman was so threatened that she sought safety in flight—not to Fort Walla Walla, but to the Methodist Mission at The Dalles.

Now, let this writer of history, who "speculates" when she runs short of facts, indulge her penchant and speculate as to what that hidden, mysterious influence was that seemed to hang around Hudson's Bay Forts and made it the more dangerous for Protestant missionaries the nearer they were located to these forts. And I, in turn, will speculate, privately, as to what kind of a production we shall have, if, as I understand her to intimate, Mrs. F. F. Victor shall conclude to give us the "inside history of the Cayuse war." As literary curiosities, the writings of an author who dresses Col. Joseph L. Meek up in the paint and plumage of a hero, while she clothes Dr. Marcus Whitman in the garb of a scoundrel, they alone are valuable.

Time will vindicate Dr. Whitman, and when all calumnies, and their inventors, shall have been forgotten, his name, and that of his devoted, noble wife, will stand forth in history as martyrs to the cause of God and their country.

[From the *Oregonian* of January 11, 1885.]

DR. WHITMAN.

Another Contribution to the Discussion Respecting Him.

A Review of the Positions of Mrs. Victor and Hon. Elwood Evans, from the Missionary Standpoint.

BY REV. M. EELLS.

SKOKOMISH, W. T., Dec. 20, 1884.

To the Editor of the Oregonian:

In your issue of November 7th is an article by Mrs. F. F. Victor about Dr. M. Whitman. Will you have the kindness to permit me to correct some mistakes and make a few comments upon it? I will take up the points mainly in the same order in which I find them in the article.

First. Mrs. Victor says the object of Gov. Simpson's journey around the world in 1841 was "the study of the fur trade and not politics." Such a statement needs qualification as to the fact, and certainly as to the hint from it about Gov. Simpson's interest in the political question of Oregon. It is true that his main object was the study of the fur trade, but he certainly did study the politics of this country at the same time, as its politics very materially affected the fur trade. The Hudson's Bay Company to this day affirm that they hoped to obtain all of Washington Territory north and west of the Columbia river. Dr. W. F. Tolmie, formerly in charge of Fort Nisqually, told me so within a month. That was a political subject. Simpson, in his "Journey around the World," (American edition, 1847), devotes a part of chapter six to a discussion of this political question, and says (page 151): "The United States will never possess more than a nominal jurisdiction, nor long possess even that, on the western side of the Rocky mountains, and supposing the country to be divided to-morrow to the entire satisfac-

tion of the most unscrupulous patriot of the Union, I challenge conquest to bring my prediction and its power to the test by imposing the Atlantic tariff on the ports of the Pacific." So Governor Simpson made his journey to study the fur trade and study politics, and he accomplished both.

Second—In speaking of Mr. Farnham seeing Dr. Whitman's wagon at Fort Boise in 1837 (1839), she says: "Farnham remarks that it was left here under the belief that it could not be taken through the Blue Mountains. But, fortunately for the next that shall attempt to cross the continent, *a safe and easy passage has lately been discovered by which vehicles of the kind may be drawn through to Walla Walla.* The italics are my own and are used to point out that the first suggestion of a safe and easy road to the Columbia river came from a member of the Hudson's Bay Company, whereas Spalding and Gray affirm and re-affirm that the company put every possible obstacle in the way of wagon travel."

What the evidence is that any member of the Hudson's Bay Company suggested a safe and easy passage for wagons to the Columbia river is what I can not see. Mr. Farnham has been styled an ardent American. He had no connection with the company. Neither in this quotation from him or in my edition of Farnham can I find any evidence that any member of that company told him of this easy passage. Mr. Farnham revised, finished and published his work after he visited Dr. Whitman.

Third—I again quote: "He (Dr. Whitman) had been six years in the Cayuse country without either having benefited or conciliated the Indians." This is a broad assertion. Istikus, a Cayuse chief, was conciliated and benefited, so that in 1843, at Dr. Whitman's request, he aided as guide to the immigrants from Fort Hall to Walla Walla; it was such a permanent conciliation and benefit that in the war of 1855-6, according to Col. T. R. Cornelius, "he furnished us scouts, which were of great use to us, and often also furnished us with provisions when we most needed them." He also rang his little bell and called his band together to worship God as long as he lived. (See Eell's History of Indian Missions, pp. 64, 237). According to Senator Nesmith, he had a clear idea of Christianity. (See his Pioneer Address, 1875). A recent Protestant movement among the descendants of those with whom he labored, now on the Umatilla Reservation, and which has resulted in a Presbyterian church of considerable numbers, is attributed by those Indians to Dr. Whitman's teachings, who say they have

never forgotten them. (Report of the Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington for 1882, p. 18). In the winter of 1846-7 Dr. Whitman called a council of the Cayuses and told them he would leave if they wished. Two or three were in favor of his going but the great majority wished him to remain. They were conciliated. A few disliked him, treated him wrongfully, burned his mill, and at last killed him, but not all by any means, and it is a mistake to say that he had been in the Cayuse country six years without having either benefited or conciliated the Indians. Other quotations might be made from the *Missionary Herald* and annual reports of the American Board to show that he did benefit them in an agricultural and educational way.

Fourth—Again she says: "Admitting that he (Dr. Whitman) feared the treaty of boundary (supposed to include Oregon) would draw the line at the Columbia river, leaving him in British territory, could he hope to reach Washington before it was concluded." I can not conceive how a careful writer in the interests of truth should make this blunder—for Mrs. Victor has visited the Whitman Mission station, which is in the Walla Walla Valley, and which is east, not west, of the Columbia. It would have remained in American territory had the lines been drawn down the Columbia. Not a station of the American Board, nor even any of the Methodist missionaries, except the one which was occupied by the latter a short time at Nisqually, would have been in British territory. The Hudson's Bay Company laid all their plans for this, and strongly advised all the American missionaries to settle south and east of the Columbia, so that if they should obtain the northern part, American missions would be in American territory.

Fifth—Again she says: "To return to Dr. Whitman, and his motives in going East, we have the testimony of his associates that he had a secret motive, known to Eells, but not mentioned at the meeting of the missionaries in September. No one has ever told us what that object was, therefore we are at liberty to speculate about it. It seems to me to point to a design of establishing himself in some office under the United States in that portion of Oregon where he resided."

The statement of Dr. Eells, to which Mrs. Victor refers, says: "He had a cherished object, for the accomplishment of which he desired consultation with Rev. David Greene, Secretary of Correspondence with the mission at Boston, but I have no recollection that it was named at the meeting." Mrs. Victor quotes Dr. Eells

as saying it was a secret motive. Dr. Eells says it was a cherished object, and never any where has said it was a secret motive. Mrs. Victor, quotes Dr. Eells as saying it was not mentioned. Dr. Eells, after thinking long what words he should use, says: "I have no recollection that it was named." Quite a difference. Mrs. Victor says: "No one has ever told us what that object was." Dr. Eells says it was to consult with Rev. D. Greene, Secretary of the Board at Boston, and the *Missionary Herald* for December, 1866, says he had missionary objects in view, and Dr. Eells, in my "History of Indian Missions," (page 163), says: "It was also expected that the opportunity would be improved for the transaction of missionary business." Yet, Mrs. Victor speculates that it was to get some government office. It was curious, if he wished to obtain some office under the United States, for him to go to Boston to consult with Rev. D. Greene on missionary business. At one time Mrs. Victor says there is no evidence that Dr. Whitman went to Washington, and at another time she thinks he went to get a government office.

Sixth—A hint is given by Mrs. Victor in the letter which I published in my pamphlet from Dr. Whitman about the secret service fund, something might be omitted about the fund. She says: "The letter, as published, has some omissions, therefore it is not quite clear how the fund was to be used." I will here say that nothing was omitted in that letter as published that had any reference to that fund. The omissions referred only to trivial matters, some of them private, or to subjects which did not relate to the subject under discussion and which would not pay for printing. If Mrs. Victor or any one else wishes to know what those omissions are I will inform them. All that I know about that secret service fund is what is stated in that letter of Dr. Whitman and the one by his brother-in-law, as published in that pamphlet.

Seventh—About the motives which induced Dr. Whitman to go East, she says: "Dr. Whitman entered into the deceit, pretending to McKinlay, his warm friend at Walla Walla, that he was going on this journey solely to prevent the breaking of the mission at Lapwai. He even solicited a letter on the subject from McKinlay, to be presented to the Board in Spalding's behalf. To the missionaries, he said he was going East to prevent Oregon from falling into the hands of the British. To the Board, he said he had come to try to induce a few Christian families to return with him and settle about the mission. To the Secretary of War and

his family friends, he confided a plan for keeping the Indians quiet by giving them sheep for their lands."

Mrs. Victor does not seem to comprehend the fact that Dr. Whitman could have more than one motive in going East, and that if he had told one person one thing and another person another, he might not have intended to deceive them. It is not certain, however, that he did even this. I ask for the evidence that Dr. Whitman said to Mr. McKinlay that he was going East *solely* to prevent the discontinuance of the mission at Lapwai. In the Seattle *Intelligencer* of April 30, 1881, is an article by Governor Evans on the same subject. He tries to prove as plainly as possible that Dr. Whitman went East to save the southern branch of the mission, especially Lapwai, and quotes from a letter of Mr. McKinlay to prove this, but the letter does not state, nor does Governor Evans anywhere say, that he said he was going solely for this purpose—a great difference whether the word solely is used or not. Whether he stated to Mr. McKinlay that he was going for political purposes seems to be an open question, some persons affirming it (see Eell's pamphlet, p. 12), and I have never seen this statement denied, though Mr. McKinlay does deny that Dr. Whitman was ever taunted in his house on political subjects.

Nay, it is plain that it was publicly known on this coast in the winter of 1842-3, that Dr. Whitman went East with the intention of bringing an emigration to this coast. Hines' History of Oregon was published in 1851, though evidently written before the death of Dr. Whitman in 1847, as it makes no mention of that event. At the beginning of chapter nine in that book is the statement that "the arrival of a large party of emigrants about this time (1842), and the sudden departure of Dr. Whitman to the United States with the avowed intention of bringing back with him as many as he could enlist for Oregon, served to hasten them to the above conclusion," *i. e.*, that the whites had laid "a deep scheme to destroy them and take possession of their country." Mr. Hines also says that a letter was received by the Methodist Mission of the Wallamet from Rev. H. K. W. Perkins of The Dalles, which gave the information that the Nez Perces dispatched one of their chiefs in the winter of 1842-3 "on snow-shoes to visit the Indians east of Fort Hall for the purpose of exciting them to cut off the party of emigrants that it is expected Dr. Whitman will bring back with him to settle in the Nez Perce country." Dr. Eells' statement about Captain Grant's attempting to turn back Dr. Whitman

from Fort Hall tallies with this statement—thus I fail to find evidence that Dr. Whitman deceived Mr. McKinlay.

From Dr. Eells' statement in my pamphlet it is plain that Dr. Whitman told the missionaries that he wished to go East for national purposes and for the good of the mission, as already stated. There was no deceit in this.

The American Board at Boston, according to the statement of Mr. P. B. Whitman, a nephew of the doctor, "censured him in very strong terms for leaving his post of duty on a project so foreign to that which they had sent him out to perform; also informed him that they had no money to spend in opening the western country to settlement." (See my pamphlet, p. 12). According to the annual report of the American Board for 1843 (p. 169), on account of the visit and representations of Dr. Whitman, the order for the discontinuance of the southern branch of the mission was countermanded—so the Board was not deceived.

According to the evidence of Dr. Eells, the Mission expected that he was going both on missionary and political business—so they were not all deceived. Hence all these facts show that Dr. Whitman was not the deceiver Mrs. Victor attempts to make him.

Eighth—Again she says that he wished to bring out Christian families, "which measure he thought would have a beneficial influence on the Indians, and discourage Catholicism, of which he expressed a dread, although there was not, at that period, a priest of the Romish church in the Walla Walla Valley." These facts are literally as she states, only she insinuates strongly that Dr. Whitman had no need to dread the coming of the Catholics. He, however, knew that there was reason for him to dread them, and their own statement agrees with his idea. They say (History of Catholic Missions in Oregon, p. 64): "It was enough for them"—the Catholic missionaries—"to hear that some false prophet had penetrated into a place, or intended visiting some locality, to induce the missionaries to go there immediately to defend the faith and prevent error from propagating itself." And when they won the Indians from the Methodists at Nisqually and other places, they were not slow to boast of it. (Ibid, p. 89). There was reason for Dr. Whitman to dread them.

Ninth—In speaking of Dr. Whitman's leaving his station October 3, 1842, instead of on the 5th, as was his first plan, Mrs. Victor says: "I have pointed out that he told contradictory stories to several persons. When his associates from the Spokane, who were

opposed to his going, and thought he ought to obey the Board, left Wai-i-lat-pu for home, he promised them to wait until the 5th of October before starting, and to take their letters and written reports. Instead of this, however, he started on the 3d, and when the courier arrived he was two days on the road to Fort Hall. * * * What did he fear in the reports of Walker and Eells that he thus gave them the slip?"

Had Mrs. Victor been (as it seems to me) as earnest to find out the truth as she has been to secure evidence against Dr. Whitman, she would not have made this mistake. There is nothing in the statement of Dr. Eells that his letters failed to go. That is an inference drawn by Mrs. Victor. Dr. Eells only said that Dr. Whitman went on the 3d instead of on the 5th, as was the first plan. He also says that Mr. Walker and himself prepared and forwarded their letters "seasonably" to Waiilatpu. In another published statement, Dr. Eells says: "Probably events transpiring in the intervening time hastened his departure so that he left on the 3d of October." (Eells' History of Indian Missions, p. 164). Dr. Eells has never complained that Dr. Whitman gave him the slip. Only Mrs. Victor thus complains. I asked Dr. Eells if his letters arrived at Dr. Whitman's before the Doctor started and his reply was, "yes." His courier reached Walla Walla "seasonably"—before the 3d—and Dr. Whitman did not "give him the slip."

Tenth—Again I quote: "At Fort Hall the Hudson's Bay Company's agent advised him to take the southern route, and furnished him another guide to Fort Uintah and so on." As if the Hudson's Bay Company helped him on his journey. I ask for the evidence of this statement. As far as I know Mr. A. L. Lovejoy, Dr. Whitman's traveling companion, has given the only account extant of that journey. He says: "We left Waiilatpu October 3, 1842; traveled rapidly, reached Fort Hall in eleven days, where we remained two days to recruit and make a few purchases. The Doctor engaged a guide and we left for Fort Winter." According to the statement of Dr. Eells. (History of Indian Missions, p. 168). "At Fort Hall Captain Grant, then in charge, in order to prevent Dr. Whitman from going East, falsely said that the Pawnees and Sioux were at war with each other and it would be almost certain death for him to proceed. Determined to go, he changed to a more southern route; but the statement, though false, most likely proved the salvation of Dr. Whitman, as, on account of the

severity of the winter, he would probably have perished had he traveled the contemplated route. So Captain Grant tried to stop him, and I have seen no evidence that he furnished Dr. Whitman a guide.

Eleventh—Again she says: "Was it then that Whitman was planning to enrich himself at the expense of his missionary character that he practiced so much strategy? To me this seems to be the solution of the puzzle." Mrs. Victor seems to have an idea that Dr. Whitman was selfish and hypocritical, although she never saw the man. It would be well before attempting to defame the character of a man, now dead for thirty-seven years, to have proof of it which she can give. I have already shown that he did not practice the strategy with which she charges him. Hon. J. W. Nesmith does not agree with her. In an address before the Pioneer Society of Oregon in 1880, he says: "I regarded him as a quiet, unassuming man, and of great purity of character, utterly destitute of cant, hypocrisy, sham and effeminacy, and always terribly in earnest." Those who knew him best agree with the above. This is the first time I remember to have read any such charge against Dr. Whitman.

Twelfth—She says: "On reaching the frontier he found, as he had expected, numerous companies preparing to emigrate. He put himself in communication with those on his line of travel near St. Louis, and answered their numerous questions encouragingly. Further than this he had nothing to do with raising an immigration for Oregon."

Mrs. C. B. Carey says it was a pamphlet which Dr. Whitman wrote that induced her to come that year. Mr. John Zachrey says the same about his father, who came from Texas. Mr. J. C. Prentiss says he [Dr. Whitman] did all he could to induce immigration from New York. (Eells' pamphlet, pp. 30, 34.) And yet Mrs. Victor says he only encouraged those on his line of travel near St. Louis, and this was all that he did.

Thirteenth—Again I quote: "It is further claimed that Whitman piloted the immigration of 1843 to Oregon. Like the other claims, this one dissolves on investigation." Afterwards she acknowledges that he did something to find the road from Fort Hall to Grand Ronde, in common with his traveling companions, "all of them." If this latter statement is true, it is too much to say that this claim dissolves on investigation. It is true that John Gaunt was their pilot to Fort Hall, to which wagons had often come, and

where all emigrant wagons had stopped. This was the easy part of the route at that place. Captain Grant attempted to prevent all wagons from coming to Oregon in 1843. Dr. Whitman assured the immigrants that they could bring their wagons to the Columbia, and Dr. Whitman won. After leaving Fort Hall, through the difficult and unknown part, Dr. Whitman was with the first immigrant wagon, the pilot to Grand Ronde, from which place he engaged some of those Indians whom he had "never conciliated" to find the route over the Blue Mountains. Thus he did pilot the immigration over the most difficult part of the route. Says Hon. Jesse Applegate, in his "Day with the Cow Column of 1843": "To no other individual are the emigrants of 1843 so much indebted for the successful conclusion of their journey as to Dr. Marcus Whitman."

Fourteenth—"According to Mr. Applegate," says Mrs. Victor, "Mr. Remeau, of the Hudson's Bay Company, furnished a complete way-bill of the route, with camping places." But Mr. Applegate was in the "cow column," or latter part of the immigration, and what good did this way-bill do when Dr. Whitman's advice in reference to taking wagons to the Columbia had prevailed over Captain Grant's doubts; when the wagons of the first part had gone, and when, according to Mrs. Victor, even they had to leave Mr. Remeau's route at the most difficult places, as it was the pack train? This seems to imply that the Hudson's Bay Company helped the immigration from Fort Hall. Hon. J. W. Nesmith (Pioneer Address, 1875), Governor P. H. Burnett ("Recollections of an Old Pioneer," page 117), and Mr. J. G. Baker, in a letter to the writer, all of that year's immigration, say that Captain Grant did all that he could do to induce them to leave their wagons at Fort Hall, or else to go to California. Gov. Burnett calls Fort Hall "the most critical part of the journey," and Mr. Nesmith says, "Happily Whitman's advice prevailed over Captain Grant's." According to Palmer's history, the same game was tried at Fort Hall with the immigration of 1845.

Fifteenth—Mrs. Victor gives a synopsis of Governor Simpson's journey around the world, the date of his starting, and also of his being at Vancouver, November 30, 1841, and adds: "It will be seen from these dates how impossible it was that the head of the great fur company should have been where he was said to have been, or doing what he was said to have been doing. I once wrote to George P. Roberts, the factotem of the business of the company

in Oregon, and who was familiar with all the correspondence during a period of fourteen years, concerning Simpson's visit to Washington, and he wrote me in return that Simpson never was in Washington, so far as he knew, although he had agents there during the period when the company was endeavoring to get an award for their lands in Oregon after the treaty."

According to Governor Simpson's book, he reached London, on his return home, October 29, 1842, and, hence, it was not impossible for him to have been in Washington by February or March, 1843, the time Mr. Gray alleges he was there. Dr. Whitman almost crossed the continent after October 29, 1842. A letter just received from Dr. W. F. Tolmie of Victoria, formerly in charge of Fort Nisqually, and dated December 15, 1884, says: "Mrs. Victor is decidedly mistaken in stating, on the alleged authority of George Barber Roberts, recently deceased at Cathlamet, W. T., that George Simpson, afterwards Sir George, was never at Washington, D. C. Recollect having heard that he had been there, diplomatizing for the company. Can not recall to mind in what year. The British government of those days was, as usual about American matters, very ignorant, and as regards Oregon, in the midst of their other manifold responsibilities, very careless. Barber Roberts, a subordinate clerk at Vancouver until late in the forties, was afterwards *locum tenens* for the company at Cowlitz farm, Lewis county, W. T., when, through influx of settlers, it had ceased to be of any profit to the company. It was not the custom of the leaders of the Hudson's Bay Company to let their business, in its intricacies, be known to persons in the position held by the late Mr. Roberts."

This does not prove that Governor Simpson was in Washington in the winter of 1842–3, but it does show three mistakes in this paragraph: First, that Governor Simpson could not have been in Washington at the time claimed; second, that Governor Simpson was never in Washington; third, that Mr. George B. Roberts, a subordinate clerk, was the factotum of the business of the company in Oregon.

Sixteenth—In speaking of the proofs of Dr. Whitman's going to Washington, she says: "One proof is a letter by S. J. Parker, son of Rev. Samuel Parker, who says Whitman wished his father to go to Washington with him, but he is not sure his father went. How then can he be sure that Whitman went? If Mr. Parker is right, how about the story that the Doctor went immediately to Washington in his soiled buckskins?"

In the pamphlet from which the evidence is taken, Dr. S. J. Parker says: "My first memory was, as I wrote to Hon. Elwood Evans, of New Tacoma, Washington Territory, that both went, in a day or two, to Washington, but in this I may be mistaken as to my father. I know that Dr. Whitman went either the next day or a day or two after he came to see my father." Dr. Parker was then 24 years old. He says he has forgotten as to one thing, but has not as to the other. Mrs. Victor concludes that he has forgotten as to both, because he has forgotten as to one. According to that reasoning neither Mrs. Victor, nor myself, or any body else, remembers any thing. We all forget some things; therefore, we forget every thing, according to Mrs. Victor. We all know that such reasoning is false; that we forget some things, and remember some distinctly.

Seventeenth—In the same connection she says: "The second proof is a letter produced from Hon. Alex. Ramsey, who fancies that he remembers meeting Whitman at a certain boarding-house on Capitol hill. This does not tally either with the story of the Doctor's buckskins, which would hardly be allowed in such society. I am convinced, however, that Mr. Ramsey met some Oregon man, probably Dr. White, the difference in names being slight, and in dates but one year." She can not think that Dr. Whitman went to Washington, because Mr. McKinlay and Mr. Applegate knew nothing about it. Governor Ramsey says in his published letter (Eells pamphlet, page 16): "I was first elected to congress from Pennsylvania in October, 1842. For technical reasons the election went for naught, and I was re-elected in 1843. In the winter of 1842–3 I visited Washington, and called upon Mr. Joshua Giddings who was at that time boarding at Mrs. ———, on Capitol hill, in what was then called Duff Green's row. The building is still standing. When so visiting, Mr. Giddings introduced me to Dr. Whitman, who talked to me and others of the difficulties of his journey, of the character of the country, Indian affairs, British encroachments, etc." He remembers that in the winter of 1842–3 he went there, because he was at that time first elected to congress. Mrs. Victor is satisfied that he is mistaken, and went a year before and met Dr. White. Who knows the most about it, Mrs. Victor or Governor Ramsey?

Those buckskin pants seem in several places to trouble Mrs. Victor. According to testimony Dr. Whitman was somewhat careless about his personal appearance, so Mr. Gray states in his history.

and Mr. Hinman agrees thereto (Eells pamphlet, p. 14). But it is evident to all that improbable things are constantly occurring. Such reasoning reminds me of a book entitled "Historic Doubts as to Napoleon Bonaparte," which was intended as a satire on the doubts which some have expressed as to the works and existence of Christ, in which the writer attempts to show that much of what it is claimed Napoleon did was very improbable, and that the witnesses were either deceived, mistaken or unreliable, and at last he closes by saying that from such reasoning it is not probable that Napoleon ever lived. Still the world will always believe that Napoleon did live and perform many of the improbable things attributed to him. And it is no evidence that Dr. Whitman did not do some things attributed to him because they are improbable, when good witnesses testify that he did. It does not seem probable that Mrs. Victor should make the Columbia run east and south of the Whitman mission, but she has done so. Dr. Whitman's improbables are no more improbable.

Eighteenth—Further, she says that "if Dr. Geiger sent provisions to Dr. Whitman at Fort Hall, he must have sold them; [What if he did?] as according to several of the immigrants, he still depended on them for food, as he had done all the way." Mr. Applegate states, according to Mrs. Victor's article, that they hauled his [Dr. Whitman's] provisions across the plains for him. Then he depended on them for the hauling of them, and not for the provisions, and this only as far as Fort Hall. Says Mr. J. B. McLane, in a letter to the writer: "The Indians had brought considerable flour to him at Fort Hall, and the morning we left there he distributed all the provisions he had to the needy immigrants, except about fifty pounds, for five of us were in his mess, and the only ones who went ahead of the wagons. I was the driver of the light wagon. I must state another fact, that we picked up some beef bones the morning we left Fort Hall, and a young calf that was dropped that morning, and of course it was too young to travel, and it was knocked in the head and put in my wagon for us to eat, but I lost that calf out before we arrived at camp—it was rather too young for us." So, instead of depending on the immigrants for food, he only depended on them for the hauling of it, and furnished them provisions when they most needed them and where it was very difficult to get them, if not impossible, had it not been for Dr. Whitman, while he, himself, in order to do this, was willing to live on beef bones and veal too young even for the immigrants.

Nineteenth—A large part of the first portion of the article is devoted to stating the amount of information obtained by the Government about this coast, which I do not deny. Her inference is that Mr. Webster "understood the Oregon question." I quote: "If any one supposes that the man who aspired to the presidency in 1836 was ignorant of these indications, he is not only misinformed but uninformed." "And just at this period (1843) we are told that the Government at Washington, and especially the Secretary of State, were in deplorable ignorance of the subject. Would it not be justifiable to impute the ignorance to their calumniators?" This is the question, did Webster understand the Oregon question? It is not certain proof that Mr. Webster understood it because there was information in Washington. Some people there did understand the question tolerably well, and some did not who ought to have done so. The question is about Mr. Webster. As late as 1846, when the value of Oregon was far better known than in 1843, Mr. Webster said in the Senate while defending his part in the Ashburton treaty of 1842, which settled the northeastern boundary: "Now what is this river St. John? We have heard a vast deal lately of the value and importance of the river Columbia and its navigation, but I will undertake to say for all purposes of human use the St. John is worth a hundred times as much as the Columbia is or ever will be." (Webster's Speeches, Vol. V., p. 102).

Mrs. Victor tries to get around this by saying that she admits "that Webster was conservative and diplomatic. He knew as well how to throw dust as another. But it was when he came to act you could rely upon his securing American rights," which means, I suppose, that Mr. Webster said one thing and did another; that he deceived the people; that he lied. I am not willing to attribute such actions to Mr. Webster, but would ask who are his calumniators?

Moreover, Twiss, an English writer, in his work on the Oregon Territory (p. 274, edition of 1846), says: "It would be idle to speculate on those future destinies (of Oregon) whether the circumstances of the country justify Mr. Webster's anticipations, that it will form at some not very distant day an independent confederation or whether the natural divisions of Northern and Southern Oregon are likely to attach ultimately, the former by community of interest to Canada, and the latter to the United States."

I acknowledge the truth of Mr. Webster's statement that the United States "had never offered any line south of forty-nine degrees, and she never will." I know that Dr. Whitman could not affect the Ashburton treaty, which was signed six months before he reached Washington, and that other parties besides Mr. Webster made the Oregon treaty in 1846. I acknowledge that there are some difficulties in the way of accepting and reconciling all the statements of all parties. I am waiting for more light. As many seeming difficulties in the Bible, where that book and secular history have seemed to conflict, have been reconciled by the discoveries of the last fifty years, so I am waiting for more light on the subject under discussion. Much has come to light during the past few years, so that even Mrs. Victor has changed her opinion.

Although I am not as well acquainted with the making of treaties as with some other things, yet it seems to me that there is a possibility of reconciliation. Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton were authorized, if I mistake not, to include the Oregon boundary in the treaty of 1842, but did not do so, because they thought that the Maine boundary was all they could manage. Naturally, Mr. Webster's thoughts would be on the subject, even after the treaty of 1842 was made. If he felt about Oregon as he said he did in his speech of 1846, and as Mr. Twiss says he did, he would be willing to part with Northern Oregon for a little, and may have had some preliminary papers signed with agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, or of the English government, so that if the subject should come up in an official way, he would be committed. Or he might have written some letter to President Tyler embodying his views of the subject, and so could truthfully say when Dr. Whitman appeared in a somewhat uncouth way, and when Mr. Webster did not want to be troubled with the subject, "The papers are signed." And so when President Tyler knew that the emigration of 1843 was a success, he used his influence against this plan so successfully that the papers have been suppressed. I do not say that this was done, but can not see why this or something similar may not have been, and if so, all the statements can be reconciled. This seems to me to be far better than to accuse the missionaries of getting up a story—men who have hazarded their lives for the good of others; or Dr. Whitman of "deception, self-conceit, ignorance and falsifying," a man of whom his cotemporaries, both missionary and anti-missionary, speak very highly, and whom they never have accused of such things; or Secretary Webster of throw-

ing dust and lying, even when, according to the *N. Y. Independent* of January, 1870, he said to a personal friend that "it is safe to assert that our country owes it to Dr. Whitman and his associate missionaries that all the territory west of the Rocky Mountains and south as far as the Columbia river, is not now owned by England and held by the Hudson's Bay Company." We can at least afford to wait and be charitable.

Is it not a fact that when a writer, as Mrs. Victor claims to be, "in the interest of truth," makes such mistakes, disposes of witnesses in so curious a way, and draws such strange conclusions as are shown in this article, it can not be claimed that her article has any great historical weight.

[From the *Oregonian* of February 1, 1885.]

THE WHITMAN CONTROVERSY.

RECOLLECTIONS OF W. H. GRAY.

ASTORIA, January 20, 1885.

To the Editor of the Oregonian:

As I am the only person now living who met Rev. H. H. Spalding and Dr. Marcus Whitman, at Liberty Landing on the Missouri river, about April 25, 1836, and as I was for many years associated with them in their missionary labors and settlement in the Oregon country, it would be thought strange if I did not come forward to defend them against a slanderer who has filled four columns of your valuable paper. I will not attempt to review the long list of false insinuations uttered by a writer so steeped in prejudice against all Protestant Christian efforts to ameliorate the condition of the native population of the country, that no effort or proof can induce her to be reasonable. This is distinctly shown by reference to Rev. Myron Eells' pamphlet, and by her first paragraph, in which she claims that she committed a fault, and to confirm that fault she put down forty-six more.

The question is one of personal knowledge of events that occurred in Oregon in 1842, and of events then about to occur in the city of Washington. It was stated in Oregon that a treaty had been signed in Washington, giving to Great Britain all of Oregon, though subsequent facts only showed that the treaty was about to be made, and that it only referred to Maine and our eastern coast. As a consequence of the statement, a citizen of Oregon hastened to Washington to learn the facts, and in case the statement was found not to be true, to inform the United States government that the time had arrived to assert its claim to Oregon, as was then being done by the opposing party, who claimed it on the ground that it had the largest number of subjects in the territory; and by opening a practicable road, well known to him, for emigrants, so that, by outnumbering the opposing party, with American citizens, the country

would be secured to us. The writer can affirm that Dr. Whitman made such a statement before going to Washington, and that on his return he was satisfied with the result of his visit and the treatment he received from all he met in Washington, except Mr. Webster, and the treatment he received from a few members of the Missionary Board whom he visited in Boston, after leaving Washington. Gray's History has two distinct points to bring to the notice of its readers: First, the country was under the British Hudson's Bay Company's absolute control, which meant to hold it as a fur-producing country, and failing in that, to push their unreasonable claim against our government. Second, the causes of the failure of all American efforts among the Indians. The Indians were let loose to put a stop to American immigration. (See General Palmer's pamphlet, and Hon. Elwood Evans, as quoted). Failing in that, their claim is made under a treaty similar to one formerly made with France. In reference to the Northwest Company, it having held possession as against our government, such facts have not been before stated, nor can we find similar circumstances in the history of our country.

Mrs. Victor claims she has found a "patriotic fable." The writer, and no doubt many others, will consent to have her "patriotic fable" go into her nest among its rubbish, as we are credibly informed she is one of Mr. Bancroft's most important amenuenses in his historical work. She may find a place for it. In bringing forth her "patriotic fable" she says she committed the fault of taking everything for granted without examination of said "fable." This shows the character of our Oregon rat. It appropriates old fables, old iron, bits of nails, and useless rubbish, and mixes it all up, not finding a single scrap of useful history in it. But after telling us of her "fault" she informs us what she proposes to lay before the public in the interest of truth. This is double action "fault," or falsehood, admitting one fault to commit a greater, and claiming the last as the "truth." If any reasonable man or woman will place him or herself in Oregon in September, 1842, and listen to the statements, then the topic, of the boundary question and the future occupation of Oregon, and read the thirty-seventh chapter of Gray's history, they will unhesitatingly pronounce it literally true. Can it be possible that any one in the least acquainted with the habits of the Hudson's Bay Company and mountain men can not appreciate a brigade of boats at old Fort Walla Walla in 1842, when on such occasions Hudson's Bay rum was always used freely;

also when an express messenger arrived with the supposed news of the settlement of the Oregon question by the Ashburton treaty? Gray can, knowing all the circumstances; hence the truth of the chapter referred to. Prior to that time, in May, 1837, he was ridiculed for considering that any plan or power of the United States could get possession of Oregon. That it should be done as was stated to Dr. Whitman at Walla Walla (now Wallula) is not strange and improbable under the circumstances of a general drunk.

We will pass down the long column of that rubbish till she notices, in 1834, Hall J. Kelly's sad failure, Missionary Lee's and two years afterwards Whitman and his associates' arrival and settlement on the Upper Columbia, when she says of all Americans up to that time, "These were the first low wash of waves where soon should roll a human sea." We are not sufficiently posted in such "low wash" verses to give it a name, presuming the author culled it from her rat pile, to apply to Kelly's and the American missionaries on account of their failure in their objects. At No. 2 she notices Dr. E. White, but finds no letters from the Presbyterian missionaries, though W. H. Gray had crossed the Rocky Mountains three times, and in passing to his old home in New York, had met with large audiences to hear his report of the country and prospects, and had written to the A. B. C. F. M. in Boston a long letter, which was published by the Executive Board, who sent, under Gray's direction and guidance, eight persons to reinforce their missions in Oregon. Gray and wife visited Washington, were kindly treated by all, and received from the Secretary of War the passports then required to go into the Oregon country as teachers among the natives.

He did not find in Washington the wise men that Mrs. Victor claims to have been there; they only knew of Captain Gray's discovery of a river, which he called Columbia. "Was it in Oregon?"

We had the pleasure of seeing the great Daniel Webster and the great South Carolinian, Hayne, in the senate chamber, from the gallery of what is now the supreme court chamber and gallery. We were escorted to all the notable places in Washington by a New York member of Congress to whom we presented our letters of introduction; his name we have forgotten. In fact we did not think of boasting that we were in Washington, not even about our being there again in 1852, and being taken into the lower house by our delegate, the Hon. Joseph Lane, and receiving an intro-

duction by him to many members of the House and listening to the honorable delegate's speech about giving a territorial government to what is now Washington Territory.

Mrs. Victor makes a tirade against the missionaries, and especially against Gray, for approving Rev. Spalding's congressional document, which was certified to by more than one hundred honorable and Christian citizens of Oregon to contradict the slanderous statements of Vicar General Brouilett and J. Ross Browne's congressional document. It does not please her. It was not presented to me—if it had been I would have signed it. I ask the reader to note and read No. 4, for I have copied it so as not to misrepresent her. She tells us of the arrival of Lord Ashburton, and of Fremont being sent to collect information concerning the Platte Valley, South Pass, etc. Then comes No. 4. She says: "It was one of the methods adopted by government, of showing Great Britain that although the United States bided their time, they were informing and preparing themselves against the final struggle for the possession of the Oregon territory. I need not say more in this place of the opportunities enjoyed by Webster of forming an opinion and a policy concerning Oregon or of the policy formed. The proofs are voluminous and open to any reader of the congressional debates or documents, and the American state papers."

Under this (No. 4) we are referred to a big Oregon historical rat's nest, not surpassed in egotism by any other sacred or profane writer in history. We yield in silent awe at the mighty nest, so kindly mentioned for the information of the dumb-heads of Oregon, and we can but smile at the mild insinuation that there is in that great rat's nest at Washington all the wisdom she has so elaborately referred to, and advised her readers to do the same.

While we stop to digest the wisdom in No. 4, we must leave friend Spalding in his grave at Lapwai mission and pass on, leaving Simpson in London, Dr. McLoughlin in his grave in the front yard of the Catholic church at Oregon City, Webster to manage the cod fishery in No. 6 (and also No. 7, including part of No. 8)—here is a fifty years' nest to dispose of, "too big to be embraced in the Ashburton treaty," and too big for Webster to handle, as subsequent developments have proven. As we have our learned lady's statement we give it verbatim. She says:

"For fifty years the two governments had been negotiating boundaries, without being able to settle this small portion satisfactorily. It stood in the way of the Oregon Question and other im-

portant questions. Before it could be settled the Oregon Question had become of world-wide interest and too big to be embraced in the Ashburton treaty."

Did any one ever see so wise a lady, to be able to solve so difficult a question with so few words? We in Oregon, and a great many in England, and even the President of the United States thought it could and would be settled by this high officer of Great Britain and Mr. Webster; and we say it would have been, by giving Oregon to Britain, if Ashburton had been more liberal on the Maine question, and Benton and Linn less active to prevent it. In the remainder of this No. 8, we have the apology for President Tyler, Mr. Ashburton and Mr. Webster, from our learned historian.

Let us look for a moment now at Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16: We are told that Smith and Sublette took ten wagons and two carts to the head of Wind River, which we know not to be the truth. The wagons and carts of the fur company were taken to old Fort Laramie, and these they left there in 1836. Whitman took the mission wagon to Fort Hall, and at that fort the wagon was made a cart to Boise, carrying the two wheels on the cart. In 1838 wagons were taken on to the lower part of Wind River, near its junction with the Yellowstone River, over one hundred miles from the sources of Wind River. Our historical rat has left a vast mountainous country, at that time but little known.

The wild fur trappers of the Rocky Mountains and the traders into Mexico with wagons did not venture over the Rocky Mountains till after the missionary pioneer, Whitman, took his wagon to Fort Boise, where Hudson's Bay Company traders wanted to use it to remove their old corral fort further down on to Snake river, where Gray found it in 1838 well cared for and well used, as when Farnham saw it. That old wagon has done more towards settling the boundary question and holding Oregon and the Pacific Coast than all your diplomacy and long efforts to cover up the Hudson's Bay Company and the Jesuits' efforts to wrest it from our American people. As to Dr. Whitman's leaving it at Boise and the insinuations she makes about it by referring to Payette and Farnham seeing it, is proof of the falsehoods and policy of the Hudson's Bay Company's fear of the next wagon that might come over the Rocky Mountains, which was brought by another band of noble American missionaries headed by the meek and noble Rev. Harvey Clarke and wife, assisted by Mr. A. T. Smith and wife, and P. B. Littlejohn and wife. This party brought two wagons to Fort

Hall. They were induced by the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company to leave them and pack through to the settlement. As Dr. Whitman had brought his wagon to Boise, Meek and Newell had said to Whitman's party in 1836, in the Green river rendezvous, if they (the missionaries) succeeded in forming a settlement in the Lower Columbia they would come down and join them.

The wagon and the two women were before them and the man that was now to test the practicability of the route did it beyond all others, and only for Spalding and Gray, his associates, having listened to Hudson's Bay Company's misrepresentations, he could have taken his wagon through to the Columbia and to his mission, as Newell and Meek, those of Rev. Clarke's mission, did in 1841. Those of 1842 left theirs at Fort Hall, from a break-up of Dr. E. White's party, through the same influence, which was then active to prevent American settlement. We must pass No. 16 and the fourteen cows as we know the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company prevented their being taken further, and touch No. 17. Here we find some italics containing some statements of Mr. Payette about a road that Dr. Whitman and his good old Christian Indian Sticas had found or knew of even before the Northwest Fur Company had come to the country; and Whitman told Payette about it, as the best route for wagons or a road over the Blue Mountains. That Indian has the unqualified assertion of Senator Nesmith that he piloted the immigration of 1843 over that mountain road and was the best Indian he ever saw. The immigration took him at Dr. Whitman's advice.

Again as to time—"Spalding speaks of the Ashburton treaty as not yet concluded, although it was signed on the 9th of August, six months previous to this conversation with Webster. He also makes it appear that Governor Simpson was in Washington at this time, denying that a wagon road could be made to Oregon. But so far from being in Washington or thinking anything about a wagon road to Oregon, Simpson was at that time safe in London, where he arrived from a voyage round the globe in November, 1842, the object of which journey was the study of the fur trade, and not politics."

Mrs. Victor claims, under the above numbers, that the Ashburton treaty was signed before Dr. Whitman reached Washington, as against Spalding and Gray for copying it. We can admit that is a mistake to be corrected. But as to Governor Simpson, we claim that where his agents are doing his business and obeying his

orders, he is *de facto* there, whether at Vancouver, China, London, Washington, or in the Rocky Mountains; his orders were being obeyed in every place he represents, and that his knowledge of the country was accurate, as represented by Rev. Mr. Spalding.

We now come to Nos. 17 and 18, which we copy verbatim, as all the parties named by Mrs. Victor, except myself, are now dead, at least we believe they are, and I have not lost my note-book nor my memory. The scenes and facts were too deeply impressed upon my mind at the time and since by culminating events to be forgotten.

The road spoken of as known to the Hudson's Bay Company was first known to Dr. Whitman from old Sticas, the Indian that piloted the immigration of 1843 through that route. Dr. Whitman had informed Payette of what he, with the Indians, had done to look it out, and wished to get help from the Hudson's Bay Company to properly open it, in order to get the wagon he left at Boise. The help was refused, and Newell and Meek attempted to come through it "with much difficulty," as intimated, and here is Mrs. Victor's statement. She says:

(17.) "There were several immigrants and travelers with the party of 1837, one of whom, Thomas J. Farnham, remained for several days at Fort Boise, and was shown by Mr. Payette, in charge, the cart abandoned by Whitman at that place. Farnham remarks that 'It was left here under the belief that it could not be taken through the Blue Mountains.' But fortunately for the next that attempted to cross the continent, '*a safe and easy passage had lately been discovered by which vehicles of the kind may be drawn through to Walla Walla.*' (18.) The italics are my own, and are used to point out that the first suggestion of a 'safe and easy' road to the Columbia river came from a member of the Hudson's Bay Company, whereas Spalding and Gray affirm and re-affirm that the company put every possible obstacle in the way of wagon travel." [Gray affirms the same to-day, December and Jauuary, 1884–5.] "Farnham visited Dr. Whitman's station, and must certainly have talked this matter over with him, and Gray and Spalding must have been aware of it."

Is Mrs. Victor's statement true or false? All at the Whitman mission knew of the practicability of a better route than the one used by the Hudson's Bay Company, that had less brush and logs in it, over a high rocky mountain. The wagon was not abandoned, but left for Gray to bring through at some future time.

Let us now look at parts of Nos. 18 and 19. She says: "Having shown the part the government and the people east of the Missouri river were taking in the scheme of settling Oregon by immigration, let me now take up the Spalding-Gray story, of Dr. Whitman's part in it. In the first place let me show how Whitman was situated at this time. He had been six years in the Cayuse country without having either benefited or conciliated the Indians. He found them selfish, thieving, given to lying, haughty and ungrateful. From their stand-point he was a trespasser on their lands, making money out of their country and them, without any sufficient exchange of benefits."

In the above statement we have the egotist, either ignorant or malicious. The writer was present when that mission station was commenced. All the Indians about it assisted to put up the buildings and the fences, to plow the ground, to harvest the mission's and their own crops of wheat, and it was ground for them without toll. They attended constantly to Dr. Whitman's Sabbath Bible reading or lectures up to the time the two Jesuit priests arrived at Walla Walla. Not many hours after an Indian came to the station, and in my presence told Dr. Whitman he had been teaching them lies. They now had the true black gowns, and from that time it was evident to Gray that the Indians and Protestant American missions would be (and have been) a partial failure in the country. It will be borne in mind that the occurrence here alluded to was in the fall of 1838, four years before Whitman went to Washington, and Gray with his family, to Salem; and during these four years he was not asleep.

Mrs. Victor says, under her figures (28): "No one has told us what that object was; therefore, we are at liberty to speculate about it." That is, in reference to Whitman's going to Washington. It must be a deeply prejudiced and perverted judgment that, after all that has been printed on the Whitman trip to Washington, can not understand the object of that trip, which accomplished all that was designed, to wit: to defeat the Hudson's Bay Company's effort to hold Oregon. The results have proved the wisdom of the effort, which the blind influence on a woman's brain, like Mrs. Victor's, can not comprehend. And no candid person can justify her in slandering the dead martyr, nor the dead missionary, Rev. H. H. Spalding.

Gray has met her before in controversy, and has for more than a year known of her present attempt to slander the dead and chal-

lenge the living to this controversy. Please look at her quotation under her question No. 28. She asks: "But why did not he (Dr. Whitman) go to Washington and come back with a party of immigrants and a commission, as well as Dr. White?" She evidently meant that her readers should understand that he neither went to Washington nor came back with the company of immigrants—a double falsehood,we have the right to infer, or affirm—as we know he did go to Washington, and did come back with the immigration of 1843.

Under No. 30, she says, referring to letters that related to secret service funds, and a scheme to get settlers into the Oregon country, as well as sheep for Indians: "We admit that to be Dr. Whitman's sole or main object in going to Washington." He was disappointed in not having sheep to give the Indians. We know the treaty of Oregon was signed June 15, 1846. But a short time (eleven and a half months) before, the lives of himself, his wife, and several other Americans with him, were sacrificed as a last spiteful effort to appease the Hudson's Bay Company and the Jesuits. They had been defeated by the influence of this one man.

At this place we give the views of Hon. Elwood Evans in his annual address before the Pioneer Association, 1877. He says: "The massacre at Waiilatpu on the 29th of November, 1847, was a cold-blooded and perfidious murder without the slightest justifying cause." He further says:

*"To depict the internal condition of the country at that time, and exhibit the relations each to the others of such diverse elements of population, I have, upon previous occasions, compared the country itself to a tinder-box. The two white, quasi-hostile races may represent the flint and the steel, the native race the tinder. As long as no collision between the whites occurred, the Indians might continue quiet; but any excitement indicating hostility between British and Americans, the tinder was in danger of ignition. * * * * It is equally true that there existed an educated bias which had already made the Indian the dependant of the foreign element; there was also an educated prejudice which fostered hostility to the American settler. * * * * He had readily and too aptly learned that King Georges—as he called the British—had no real desire for the Bostons in the country.*

For him that was enough. He not only thought he was doing service for King George by such hostility, but that he would protect him."

Hon. Mr. Evans says: "Such was the race among whom Dr. Whitman and his heroic wife labored, at a station hundreds of miles distant from the settlements, its inmates numbering some twelve or more, men, women and children.

He further says: "An Oregon audience needs no assurance that Dr. Whitman and his devoted companion were among the very best of their race, that their hospitality and kindness had been of the utmost service to the weary immigrant en route to the Willamette. Pages could be devoted to the praise of their many good works. They were philanthropical, practical, devoted Christians, who literally obeyed the Divine injunction. He was equally the dispenser of charity and benefits to his own race. The Indians never had a more sincere and earnest friend since good William Penn, founder of my native city, gave the world that glorious illustration of 'unbroken faith by the deeds of peace.' The martyr Whitman acted with equal good faith to the perfidious Cayuses. That at this mission had been aggregated all those appliances of civilization, church, school-house, work-shops, etc., by which the Indians were made the recipients of the advantages of civilized life. All these were lain waste, and those eminent benefactors of the Indians, together with every American inmate of the mission, were brutally sacrificed."

We have copied from the Hon. Mr. Evans' address to show the character of the woman and that of the person she attempted to slander and misrepresent, not that we think to convince her and such as agree with her egotism and strong disposition to malign the dead and slander the living. There is in that address of Hon. Elwood Evans, as presented to the large audience of old pioneers at Salem, a careful statement of the circumstances and causes that led to the massacre of the Whitman family, pointed out distinctly, in his "tinder-box illustration," and in the Hudson's Bay Company or King George's education of the Indians. Our personal knowledge of the King George education relieves us of all doubt on that question, as we have listened to the catechising of the Indian children at old Fort Walla Walla (now Wallula) by the officer in charge.

As the writer is the sole survivor of those most intimately acquainted with all the early affairs and trials of the Whitman and

Spalding mission, he will here affirm that what is commonly called the honorable Hudson's Bay Company were the prime cause of the Whitman massacre, and to accomplish it and shield themseves, Governor Simpson, as we have learned from pages 24-5 of "Catholic Church in Oregon," arranged to bring to Oregon two Jesuit missionaries—Vicar General Blanchet and Demers, and gave to them every possible assistance to counteract and drive from Oregon every American missionary and settler in it. The two priests of that order commenced their work with the Hudson's Bay Company's servants on starting to cross the country from Canada, and were, as their report shows, permitted to indoctrinate the Hudson's Bay Company's servants and the Indians all along the route to Oregon. In their recent work they boast of their success. It was stated and admitted by Mr. Douglass and Dr. McLoughlin that the priests came to minister to their French and Canadian servants. A plausible excuse for a deeper plan. We might ask, as Mrs. Victor does, and even as Captain Belcher of the British Navy does, "Why did not the company go to their own country for religious teachers?" They were from Protestant England, Scotland, and Wales.

They did, in the case of Rev. Mr. Beaver, when they wanted an extension of time of joint occupation, and found Mr. Beaver favoring the plan of civilizing the Indian, they sent him away and brought the Jesuits to indoctrinate their servants and Indians. The Whitman massacre and the Cayuse war were the results. Honorable Mr. Evans has turned the key to unlock the causes, and it should be a lesson to every pioneer and citizen of the country.

Since copying the noble encomium on Dr. Whitman and family by the Hon. Elwood Evans, I have received the *Weekly Oregonian* of December 26, and find the honorable gentleman has been converted to the principles of our Oregon historical rat's nest discoverer, which brings to our mind the following remark of a good old deacon in an Eastern church in reference to a slanderous statement about a member of the church—"Let the devil alone, it will kill itself." Our honorable friend has followed the example of Madame Victor—first, to confuse his readers, and then, like the good cow that gave a full bucket of nice milk, kicked it all over. We frankly confess that most of his statements in the first column read to us as though he had gathered a bundle of straws to throw at his readers to make them believe that he knew more than any one else about transactions that occurred in Oregon long before he came to it, and when he came to Oregon he went to the missionaries to learn

something that he did not know. In other words, in the positions and statements he appears to me to make, he wants to show that a brother lawyer does not know anything about what he knows, in, of, or about the matter Mr. Ross has been writing about; and the honorable Mr. Evans gives honorable Mr. Ross a lecture because he does not know as much as Mr. Evans claims to know of Oregon history. Passing down his first column, in which he makes liberal use of Mrs. Victor's rubbish, he adds Rev. Dr. Atkinson to "Spalding and Gray's fable." This is quite interesting to Gray to know that he is placed, in the over-wise estimation of two such learned historians as the honorable Mrs. F. F. Victor and the honorable Mr. Elwood Evans, as being competent to invent a "fable" that the two, the honorable lady and the honorable lawyer, should call a fable. Now, since railroads have crossed the Rocky Mountains, learned people have caught a spark of electricity,and added to it the wisdom of the moon, by which, they intend to dispense with the light of the sun. The people that lived in the days when Oregon was young, only imagined they were some where else, perhaps in London or Philadelphia, and they knew all about everybody else, and especially such as acted and lived in young Oregon.

Our historical rats of Oregon know the art of gathering a big pile of rubbish, and when found and examined, there is nothing useful, ornamental, nor clean, about or in it. Allow a young, ignorant, romantic, or any other musty name the honorable writers choose to apply, to say:

First—W. H. Gray did not go to the Wallamet (as Frost and Lee write it) until about September 1, 1842. He returned to the Whitman station for his family on the 21st of September, 1842. He was not ready to leave the Whitman station till about the 15th of October. I do not like to call Hon. Mr. Evan's statement false, but I will admit he is mistaken in date, by not having read Gray's circular controversy with Mrs. Victor. In May, 1842, Gray was not in the Willamette valley, and it is certain that he was at the Whitman station in June of that year, and a member of that mission, and at that meeting was honorably permitted to leave its service and go where he pleased with his family. Does the Hon. Elwood Evans call his statement the truth? Gray was also at the station at the time of the called meeting after his return from the Willamette valley. The starting of Dr. Whitman at the time he did, to go to the States, caused a delay in his (Gray's) arrangements to go to the

Willamette valley. Permit me to call attention to Hon. Elwood Evans' statements, to correct what he claims to be Hon. Mr. Ross' ignorance or error. After excusing himself, like Mrs. Victor, he then says: "First—Dr. Whitman's winter journey, in 1842–3, had no political intent nor significance whatever." As to the "political intent," W. H. Gray says, being present when he and A. L. Lovejoy started from his station, that it was the prime cause of both going as they did. I do not wish to say that Mr. Evans' statement is absolutely false, but I know it is not true. What could be the object of Dr. Whitman to take Mr. Lovejoy to go only to Boston to get an order of the A. B. C. F. M. rescinded?

The second position—"That no feeling as to the Oregon boundary controversy, or desire or wish to defeat British claim to the territory, or any part of it, had any influence in attracting such journey." This we know not to be true.

The third—"That his exclusive purpose was to secure a rescission by the order of the A. B. C. F. M. of the order of 1841, to abandon the southern stations." Of this third object I have no personal knowledge, nor of its being talked about at the time.

Fourth—Mr. Evans says: "There is no evidence that he visited Washington city during the spring of 1843." I was introduced to Hon. Governor Ramsey when he was in Oregon by Ex-Gov. Gibbs. His reply to me was, he was quite confident he met Dr. Whitman in Washington in 1843, but he might be mistaken, as it was so long since.

Mr. Evans claims that Rev. Mr. Lee was in Washington that winter. But we know that Rev. Jason Lee was not at Washington that year, and that he took an active part in the building of the Oregon Institute, and was at the meeting on July 5th, when the Provisional government was established, and was one of the committee to administer the oath of office to the executive committee, and hence he was not in Washington in any part of 1843.

Mr. Evans' fifth statement is proven false by John Hobson, and several others, who have given testimony that he was active in get ting up the immigration of 1843.

As to his sixth, seventh and eighth, we have Mr. Webster's statements, and his estimate of Oregon. Can Mr. Evans produce by one of his (Webster's) many speeches, that he had a high value of the Oregon country? Can he prove that W. H. Gray has ever been in Washington, except by his own statement, and that of his wife when alive, (if any one ever heard her say she was there,

on her first trip to Oregon)? Can he prove, by documents, that hundreds of men have been there, and conversed with officers of the government, and gone away leaving no record? Certainly he can, because none were left; but the friends of these men can testify that they were men of truth, and believed those that told what occurred when there.

Permit me at this point, in this wild controversy of words without reason or truth, to sum up this whole affair as I have always viewed it:

First—Oregon was, as all admit and documents prove, jointly to be occupied by the citizens and subjects of the two high contracting parties or powers. Both parties claimed an interest in it by discovery and by purchase. The older country, by the payment of some old horse-dragoon pistols; the other by the discovery of its largest river, and purchase from the actual discoverers by a French title. The nation that bought from the discoverers were the first to enter and name the river, and make a permanent improvement on its largest river shore.

THE COMPANY BETRAYED AND THE COUNTRY SEIZED.

Soon after the citizens of the United States had occupied the country, the French subjects of Britain came into the occupied country of the United States, and a war between the two countries occurred and a vessel of war sent to seize the property of the Americans, which was by treachery transferred to the French subjects of Britain, who eventually held possession under a joint-occupation treaty, and by what may be called doubtful legitimate trade, drove from the country all foreign and especially American traders and settlers from it, up to the year 1834—but one trader, Capt. Wyeth, was allowed to remain till 1836—there being only transient American vessels that came to it in subsequent years; while sailing and war vessels of Britain were frequent, and war vessels almost stationary in the country, and the organized companies originally chartered by France, forty years before the Hudson's Bay Company had any existence in the country.

THE FRENCH AND HUDSON'S BAY COMPANIES UNITED.

The two companies, after Lord Selkirk joined his interest with the Hudson's Bay Company, an Indian beaver trade—a war in trade—commenced, enlisting the Indians on each side to destroy the profits of the other. This war was continued until the profits of the trade were destroyed, and numbers of the men, and a gov-

ernor of the Hudson's Bay Company, with a number of his men, were shot down by the men of the Northwest Company (designated by Bancroft, "X. Y. Northwest Company party," page 262); and in his history, pages 378-9, the results are given.

CHARACTER OF THE H. B. COMPANY FROM BRITISH AUTHORITY.

But we are not left to quote our best authority to show the character and actions of the Hudson's Bay Company while in possession of Oregon by joint-occupancy treaty. We have the best of British authority, prepared at the suggestion of the present Prime Minister of England, when the question came before its parliament in 1849. The book is dedicated to the Rt. Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M. P., by James Edward Fitzgerald, having but nine chapters. That our American and adopted citizens may understand the character of the British Hudson's Bay Company—what our American trappers, hunters and traders, missionaries and settlers, had to contend with—we will copy liberally from this best of British authority, giving our own personal knowledge, from the day we crossed the Rocky Mountains to the time they abandoned or were driven out of this country.

Permit me to draw the attention of the reader to the introductory remarks of the author referred to in connection with Hon. Mr. Gladstone, present Prime Minister of England, as found on page 10 of the above-named author, who says:

"It is most important to bear in mind the relative value which must attach to evidence from different quarters on a question of this nature. The power of the Hudson's Bay Company over hundreds of thousands of miles of the North American continent is unlimited. Into those remote regions few ever penetrate but the servants of the company. There is hardly a possibility of obtaining any evidence whatsoever which does not come in some way through their hands, and which is not more or less tainted by the transmission. The iron rule which the company holds over its servants and agents, and the subtle policy which has ever characterized its government, have kept those regions almost beyond the knowledge of the civilized world or of any but the few who guide the affairs and transact the business of the company."

Of the American writers to whose testimony so much weight has been attached, it is well to know that they had good reasons for forming a favorable opinion of the operations of the company.

Whatever may be the justice of the claim which the company assert to the gratitude of the Indian races, and of the settlers in their territories, the United States have, at any rate, a debt which they seem inclined to acknowledge as long as the payment can be made in nothing more valuable than words. We shall presently see of how much use the company was to this country in the settlement of the boundary to the westward of Lake Superior, and that had that corporation asserted the privileges of their charter against American claims as vigorously as they have ever opposed them to British liberties, the boundary between the United States and British North America would never have been settled along the 49th parallel.

It has often been asserted, and is to a great extent believed, because there is very little general information on this subject, that the claim which Great Britain made to the Oregon territory was dependent upon, or at any rate, strengthened by the settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia river. We have, in the statements quoted from the best English authors, the designs of the British government to hold possession of Oregon by the settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company.

COMMENCEMENT OF IMPROVEMENTS.

The company commenced by locating and improving in and about Vancouver, and in the Willamette Valley by locating their French worn-out servants and their families in what was called the French Prairie. There was in that settlement a few of the Astor party or company. In Sir E. Belcher's R. N. narrative "Round the World," Vol. I., p. 297—"that on the Willamette was a field too inviting for missionary enthusiasm to overlook; but instead of selecting a British subject (which the Methodist Board did do, as Rev. Jason Lee and nephew Daniel were from Canada) to afford them spiritual assistance, recourse was had to Americans, a course pregnant with evil consequences, and particularly in the political squabble pending, as will be seen by the result. No sooner had the American and his allies fairly squatted (which they claim taking possession of the country) than they invited their brethren to join them, and called on the American government for laws and protection."

On the 19th page our author says: "This much has been said in order to guard those who take interest in this question against being imposed upon by the array of authority which has been set

up in order to blind the public to the real character of that system of iniquity which prevailed over the whole continent of North America, under the sway of the Hudson's Bay Company." Our British author, page 17, charges the company with having an American policy as "a matter of suspicion," and says: "It is very easy to say these are idle tales; they are tales, but such tales as parliament ought to make a searching investigation into their truth."

On the 18th page, he discards the validity of the American testimony, on personal grounds, as favorable to the company, and also that of the bishop of Montreal, claiming that he only went to the Selkirk settlement and saw nothing beyond. He also gives us to understand the full cause of his convictions, and says: "A corporation, who, under the authority of a charter which is invalid in law, hold a monopoly in commerce and exercise a despotism in government, and has so used that monopoly and wielded that power as to shut up the earth from the knowledge of man and man from the knowledge of God."

THE MISSIONARY INFLUENCE.

Will the Hon. Mrs. Victor and the Hon. Mr. Evans claim further testimony to show the character of a company that in Oregon, up to 1834 or 1836, had held absolute control over a country that by the influence of two little missionary bands, in a few years, could drive them out of it, and change it from a savage to a civilized people?

The Hon. Mrs. Victor, in her "River of the West," page 274, has given us, from her pen, a most apt picture, to show us how it was accomplished, and has sarcastically named it, "The Missionary Wedge." It is due at this time to say of that woman that she, like Hon. Mr. Evans, has apparently withdrawn, and now attempts to prove a truth a falsehood, which our British author and prime minister deemed important enough for parliamentary investigation.

The result of that "missionary wedge," and investigation, has taken from the Hudson's Bay Company half of its Indian dominion. To whom must we look for cause? Certainly not to the beaver trappers, hunters, traders, casual sailors, nor diplomatists, as the two great countries did not settle it till eleven and one-half months before the Whitman massacre, and at that time there were in the country five hundred men brave enough to overcome the savage element, and as many more to defend the homes of the American settlers. Such as claimed to belong to the "King George party"

were not molested either in person or property. The whole country, from California to Behring's Straits, was, at that time, in 1846, claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company as their hunting ground, and as such occupied.

HON. JAMES DOUGLASS' PLAN OF MEETING AND OPPOSING RIVAL TRADERS AND MISSIONARIES.

To meet and overcome the new element in Oregon, the Hon. James Douglas, who afterwards became governor of Vancouver's Island and British Columbia, when in Oregon and at this port, remarked to me, "that as traders, we must meet fire with fire, and as other opposition comes to the country, we must meet that."

At the time that remark was made to me, my impression was that it referred to the vessels coming to the country to trade, but on receipt of the news of the Whitman massacre, another element had been disposed of, and the persons or participants in it must be protected. That is proven by the part taken by Brouilett, at Mr. Ogden's Indian council at Walla Walla, in January, 1847.

We have referred to the company and our British author, also to his reference to Rev. Mr. Beaver being sent to Vancouver as chaplain to the company, when they wished to get an extension of license to the occupation of the country for trade. They dismissed him, as Mr. Beaver insisted on attempting to do something towards civilizing the Indians, like those on the eastern coast. He expected the approval and assistance of the company, which were refused, and was sent back to England. To meet, destroy and drive from the country the American missionaries who were active and successful in their work, and measurably independent of the Hudson's Bay Company, another element to "meet fire with fire" must be brought to the country and assist in its efforts to indoctrinate the servants of the company. As Hon. Mr. Evans, in his pioneer speech, says: "There was also an educated prejudice which fostered hostility to the American settler."

From the date of the dismissal of the Rev. Mr. Beaver, an Episcopal minister in 1837, to the arrival of Vicar-General Blanchet and Demers was but a single year. They, as before stated, "kindled the fire" that was designed to drive Americans and their missionaries out of the country. The result is now a matter of history.

Why our friend Hon. Elwood Evans should assume the position he has we are unable to comprehend. Knowing, as we do,

all the facts, statements and efforts covertly used to hold possession of the country by the Hudson's Bay Company, and notwithstanding the best British authority charge the company, through Dr. McLoughlin's generosity, with the cause of its being given up to the Americans, the company, as such, used their whole power and influence to retain it.

WAR MEASURES TO PROTECT THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

A British war vessel, *The Modest*, was kept at Vancouver, and bastions and careful defences attached to that establishment but a short time before the Whitman massacre commenced. Rev. Father Demers has given us another statement to confirm our position, and enlighten us on the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company in strengthening the fort. Page 148, "Catholic Church in Oregon," he says: "It is false that the company had anything to fear from the Indians; if the fort was repaired, bastions built, and all other protective and defensive measures were completed, it was to defend itself against another kind of savageness."

Until the publication of that Catholic church work in 1878 we were in doubt as to the object of the company, but had our suspicions that the measures taken by the company, as our Reverend M. Demers says, were as he affirms them to be, which brings to the writer's mind an old saying—"Children and fools will sometimes tell the truth." We must not forget that the good old Dr. McLoughlin had left the service of the company before the Whitman massacre and became a settler in Oregon City. Nor must we forget the statement of Mr. Ogden to Mr. Douglass, as found in Gray's history, pages 516-17. Honorable A. Hinman says: "We went first to Mr. Ogden's room and informed him of the massacre. He was shocked and said—'Mr. Hinman, you now see what opposition in religion will do.' We then went to Mr Douglass' room and informed him, and when Mr. Ogden was pacing the room he said—'Mr. Douglass, you see now what opposition in religion does.' After a moment's pause, Mr. Douglass replied—'There may be other causes.'" What were the causes except to dispose of Americans?

After Dr. McLoughlin left that company we have only to turn to their treatment of their own countrymen in their own hunting grounds to show their policy and treatment to be inhuman, as the British author affirms.

Hon. Mr. Hinman informs me that after listening to the reading of McBean's letter that Mr. Douglass turned to him and "wished to know why I was not at home at so perilous a time?" His reply was—"I told him I had received no letter from Walla Walla, and did not learn of the massacre till below the Cascades." At this Mr. Douglass expressed surprise, and said Mr. McBean ought by all means to have informed you of your danger. After this the express was opened, and Mr. Douglass read and I listened to the account as given by McBean, and also of his account of three parties going to destroy the other parts of the mission, including that at The Dalles, Mr. Hinman's place included, as understood by Mr. McBean, who was ordered to keep silent—to let them be destroyed. He, Mr. Hinman, says Mr. Douglass excused McBean, as he had ordered the messenger to say nothing about it at The Dalles, hence we have only to trace effect to first cause and watch the result.

INSTRUCTIONS TO INDIANS ON BUYING THE CAPTIVES.

When Mr. Ogden paid the Indians for their captives—Americans—nor especially must we forget the instruction he gave to the Indians on that occasion, as reported by Brouilette, who was, by special request of Ogden, present, and gives us Ogden's words to the Indians. He (Brouilett) informs us on page 69, "Protestantism in Oregon," that Mr. Ogden told the Indians that "the Hudson's Bay Company had never deceived them; that he hoped they would listen to his words; that the company did not meddle with the affairs of the Americans; that there were three parties—the Americans on one side, the Cayuses on the other, and the French people and the priests in the middle. The company was there to trade and the priests to teach them their duties. Listen to the priests, said he, several times, listen to the priests; they will teach you how to keep a good life." See Gray's History, page 533.

The two persons who have called up this Whitman question must have some special object. Is it to delay or defeat the effort for the Whitman monument, or is it to prepare the way for the revision of "Gray's History of Oregon," and a second volume? The material and interest in both is accumulating.

Being, as stated in the commencement of this reply, the oldest and only one now living, who came to Oregon with Dr. Whitman and Rev. Mr. Spalding, and interested in the secular department of the missions, and especially active with Dr. Whitman to defeat the boasts and outspoken designs and actions of the British Hudson's

Bay Company, it is difficult for me to allow to pass such slanderous statements as have filled so many columns in the best newspaper we have in the country. My main object in so lengthy a review is to place the Whitman question where it properly belongs in the history of the Oregon country, being an eye witness in the country and having life and health spared to me, at least, to attempt to defend the actions and character of the dead. We are fully aware of many apparent mistakes in gathering conflicting historical facts. On my last year's trip to New York, I received several old letters written to friends in those early times, that can, at the proper time, be made use of to corroborate what is already written, without going to Washington, or the Boston Board of Missions, for further information.

[From the *Sunday Oregonian* of February 8, 1885.]

DR. WHITMAN.

Reply to Honorable Elwood Evans.

BY REV. M. EELLS.

In the *Weekly Oregonian* of December 26 is an article from Hon. Elwood Evans about Dr. Whitman in reply to one by Mr. E. C. Ross. I would be glad of the privilege of correcting some mistakes and making a few remarks in regard to it.

Governor Evans has found one witness, Dr. C. Eells, who has made a clear statement of his knowledge in regard to Dr. Whitman's journey East, and his object in doing so. It by no means agrees with Governor Evans' theory; hence, he must destroy the evidence. Knowing that Dr. Eells has as fair a reputation for truthfulness as some other common mortals, he very kindly has simply charged the fault to Dr. Eells' memory thirty-six years after the memorable journey. I do not deny that the memory of aged people is sometimes treacherous as well as that of some of us who are younger; but whether it failed Dr. E. at this time must be decided after reading the following: In 1882 I published a pamphlet about Dr. Whitman, his journey East in 1842, and what he did to save Oregon and promote the immigration of 1843. I sent a copy of this to Gov. Evans. [Others can have copies of it they wish by writing to me.] I speak of this because I wish to refer to it in this reply to Gov. Evans. In two or three points Gov. Evans has attempted to show that Dr. Eells' memory was at fault.

First—Gov. Evans says: "W. H. Gray, in the fall of 1841 had become dissatisfied at and with the mission, and early in 1842 had removed with his family to Wallamet Valley. It is certain that he was not at Waiilatpu after June, 1842; so if he was present at the meeting referred to [Sept., 1842], as stated by Eells, then such meeting could have been no other than the annual meeting, in June. But

Mr. Eells is mistaken on that point, for Gray had removed to Wallamet as early in 1842 as he could find conveyance to the Wallamet."

Mr. Gray had not removed with his family to the Wallamet early in 1842. A few years ago Mrs. Victor maee the same statethat Mr. Gray was in the Wallamet in September, 1842, and so could not have been at that meeting. Mr. Gray replied in the *Astorian* by saying that when he first went down, he did not take his wife, eldest son and two little daughters with him, and that he returned to his family at Waiilatpu September 21, 1842. If there are any who doubt Mr. Gray's statement and think they know more than he does about it, I will add that I have the copy of the first letter written by Mrs. Whitman to her husband after he left for the East in 1842. I copied it from the original, which was loaned me a year or two ago. It was begun October 4, 1842. On that day she wrote: "Mr. G. and family did not leave till this morning." On the 7th she wrote that Mungo returned this eve (from Fort Walla Walla), bringing letters from Mr. McKinlay and Brother Gray," who, it seems, was not off yet.

Second—He says: "Rev. Henry H. Spalding, under date of January 9, 1843, uses language which leaves no doubt whatever that no meeting had been held since June touching or concerning Dr. Whitman's journey to the East."

This is a mistake, although Governor Evans devotes considerable space to prove his point. From circumstantial evidence in the annual report of the American Board for 1843 (page 169) it is stated that "early in the autumn of last year, and immediately after receiving the instructions of the Prudential Committee to discontinue the southern branch of the Oregon mission, a meeting of the missionaries from all the stations was held to consider the course to be adopted." It also says he started October 3d. Forty-one years after this was published Governor Evans says it was in the early summer. In the *Missionary Herald* for September, 1843, I read: "At a special meeting of the mission, held in October last, to consider this decision [*i. e.*, the one by the Board to discontinue the southern branch] it was thought advisable that Dr. Whitman should personally communicate the condition and prospects of these stations to the Prudential Committee." Here is a point which I wish to make. Governor Evans says—"The official organ of the American Board of Foreign Missions should be accepted as conclusive authority." He then makes a lengthy quotation from the *Mission-*

ary Herald of September, 1842, beginning thus—"It was thought advisable that Dr. Whitman should personally communicate," etc., as I have given above. He begins a quotation in the middle of the sentence and leaves out the first part, which says the meeting was held, which he tries to prove was not held. On noticing this I have wondered whether he was seeking for veritable history or whether he was still the paid attorney of the Hudson's Bay Company in regard to their Vancouver claim, or some other company.

I acknowledge there is a slight discrepancy between that quotation and Dr. Eells' statement, who says that the meeting was held in September, a discrepancy of five days, not very strange in an editorial written in Boston. The fact is, Dr. Eells is right, for the journal of Rev. E. Walker, deceased, for September 20, 1842, Tuesday, says: "Just as we were about to sit down to breakfast the long looked for express came in with some letters from the Doctor and Mr. Greene [Sec'y at Boston of the Mission Board]. The Doctor requested us to come down immediately." On Wednesday, the 21st, they started. On Sunday they were at the Touchet, and on Monday they reached Dr. Whitman's, and that evening, the next day and Wednesday morning the discussions were held according to this journal. So in these instances cotemporary evidence shows that Dr. Eells' memory is of more value than Governor Evans' reasoning. It has always seemed to me strange that persons who were not in the country knew much better what was done eight years before than those who did the things.

Third—Again I quote: "No living person in Oregon or Washington prior to July 4, 1865, ever heard national motive or political influence attributed to the winter journey of Dr. Whitman in 1842-43."

As Governor Evans has been so particular as to day and month, I must say he is mistaken. If he had only said that he had never heard it, I should make no criticism. In my pamphlet on the subject (page 21), are these words—"Dr. Geiger's statement gives one reason why it was not immediately published—because it would arouse the enmity of the Hudson's Bay Company. Mrs Walker gives another—for fear it would bring disgrace on the mission. Still it was given earlier than Mrs. Victor is willing to allow. The writer can remember of hearing of it between 1857 and 1862. Mr. Spalding published it in the *Pacific* (of San Francisco) in 1864. Rev. C. Eells published it in the *Missionary Herald* in December, 1866, and Mr. Treat, one of the secretaries of the A. B. C. F. M.,

made great use of it almost as soon as it was obtained from Mr. Eells, and it was copied into many prominent Eastern papers. Mr. Eells then said, in the hearing of the writer, to his wife, substantially as follows: "See what a great man like Mr. Treat can do with such a fact. The world is greatly aroused by it, while we less noted ones have been trying to say the same things for years, but the world does not get hold of it until a great man makes it public."

Mr. S. A. Clarke wrote it for the Sacramento *Union* in 1864. Previous to the writing of this article by Mr. Clarke, Mr. Moores of Marion county, speaker of the house, related the story to the Oregon Legislature when the hatchet with which Dr. Whitman was killed was presented to the legislature.

Fourth—Still he says: "In 1866 Rev. Cushing Eells had in his possession at the time he made his statement of that year, all the official records of the missions, the minutes of all the missionary meetings."

I can not conceive where Governor Evans obtained his information, certainly not from any member of Dr. Eells' family. As a member of that family I deny the statement. In my pamphlet (page 10) Dr. Eells, under oath, says—"record of the date and acts of the meeting was made. The book containing the same was in the possession of the Whitman family. At the time of the massacre, November 29, 1847, it disappeared."

Fifth—Still further, he says: "The assertion that those records were destroyed by fire in 1872 will not be accepted as a satisfactory excuse that between 1865 and 1862 those minutes were not appealed to."

The above quotation from Dr. Eells settles this statement. I am not aware that anybody except Governor Evans ever made that assertion.

Sixth—While Mrs. Victor thinks that Governor Ramsey must have seen Dr. White, who was in Washington the year before Dr. Whitman went there, Mr. Evans thinks he saw Rev. J. Lee. He says—"cotemporary history establishes that Rev. Jason Lee, the pioneer missionary of Oregon, was in Washington that winter [1843-4] and without doubt Governor Ramsey has confounded Dr. Whitman with that eminent missionary."

Cotemporary history establishes the fact that Rev. J. Lee was not in Washington during that winter. Rev. G. Hines, in his "History of Oregon," (chapter x.) says that Mr. Lee and himself

and others left Columbia for the United States via the Sandwich Islands January 31, 1844, and they reached the Islands February 26. Here they found no vessel sailing for the United States, but a small Hawaiian schooner, the *Hoa Tita*, was about to sail for Mazatlan, Mexico. It was found, however, that it could accommodate but one passenger. As Mr. Lee's business was the most urgent, it was decided that he should go, while Mr. Hines returned to Oregon. Accordingly Mr. Lee left the Sandwich Islands February 28, 1844, for Mazatlan, with the intention of crossing Mexico and so proceeding to the United States." How long it took him to accomplish the journey in such a small craft and by that route in those days, I have not been able to discover; but he certainly was not in Washington that winter, nor could he have been until late in the spring or in the summer.

Seventh—Mr. Evans' first three conclusions are that Dr. Whitman's winter journey of 1842-3 had no political intent, or significance whatever; that no feeling as to the Oregon boundary controversy, or desire or wish to defeat British claim to the territory or any part of it had any influence in actuating such journey; but that his exclusive purpose was to prevent the giving up of the southern branch of the mission. As Governor Evans knows more about it than those who conversed with Dr. Whitman on the subject, it must be so; but it is very strange that at least eleven men, scattered from Washington to Connecticut, all of whom talked with him on the subject, some of them his most intimate friends, and some of them hardly more than passing acquaintances, as Dr. William Barrows and Mr. Hale; some of them missionaries and some of whom had but little sympathy with missionary work, and some of whom never saw or heard of each other until lately, state that he said to each of them that he went with this intent, to save the country. The statement of ten of these, some of them under oath, is given in my pamphlet. They are William Geiger, Jr., now of Forest Grove, Oregon, who had charge of Dr. Whitman's station during his absence; Rev. H. H. Spalding, Hon. W. H. Gray, Rev. C. Eells, D.D. and Mrs. Mary R. Walker, his missionary associates; Hon. A. L. Lovejoy, deceased, who was Dr. Whitman's traveling companion during that journey East; Mr. P. B. Whitman, of Lapwai, Idaho, a nephew of Dr. Whitman, and who came out with him in 1843; Hon. A. Hinman of Forest Grove, who came in 1844 and taught school the next winter at Dr. Whitman's; J. J. Parker, M.D. of Ithaca, N. Y., a son of Rev. S. Parker, who

came to the coast in 1835, and with whom Dr. Whitman consulted while on his way to Washington; Rev. William Barrows, D.D., of Massachusetts, who met Dr. Whitman in St. Louis in 1843. In addition to their evidence I found, last summer, among the papers left by Rev. H. H. Spalding, a letter from Edward Hale, a dentist, to Mr. Spalding. Mr. Hale's letter was dated at North Cornwall, Conn., July 19, 1871, when he was seventy years old. He says: "I had the pleasure of entertaining Dr. Whitman at St. Louis on his last visit eastward to confer with the President and heads of department in relation to the settlement of the northeast boundary question with Great Britain by bartering away for a song the whole of the northwestern Pacific territory. Also on his return to Oregon my house was [his] home while in St. Louis." All of these eleven persons say that Dr. Whitman went East with a political intent to save the country, while Governor Evans says he did not.

It is certainly very strange that these eleven persons should conspire together to impose the story on the public; some of whom have never seen each other, and others of whom said to me they had no idea of the testimony of others until I informed them of it. I doubt whether any of those witnesses now living have ever heard of Mr. Hale before this. If they had concocted the story they would certainly have arranged so that their stories should at least wholly agree—but as it is, one person brings up an item of which the others never heard, as for instance Mr. Hinman's story about Dr. Whitman's interview with Horace Greely on the subject, while in some minor matters, Mr. Spalding, Mr. Gray and Dr. Eells fail to agree. Is it not more strange that these persons should have concocted the story than that Dr. Whitman should have gone East with political as well as missionary intent? Neither have I ever been able to see how this should impugn Mr. Webster's patriotism and character, but only his knowledge; and no man can know everything. In 1844 the renowned lawyer, Mr. Choate, spoke in the senate about "equivalents for Oregon," but his character and patriotism are not impeached. Neither is that of Mr. Dayton, who, February 23 and 24, 1844, gave as bad a description of Oregon as the most one-sided Englishman. The fact is, but very few of us have understood the full value of this country. Old residents have been astonished to see how the sage-brush land of the inland empire has developed. Hence it is not strange if Mr. Webster did not understand its value.

Governor Evans says—"That he in any manner whatever or in the most remote degree stimulated the great immigration of 1843, is as untenable as the political claim we have been discussing. No opportunity had ever occurred for meeting parties who could be influenced to go to Oregon. In those early days the Oregon immigrant had to arrange in the fall of the preceding year for the next year's journey. Dr. Whitman's connection with that great immigration commenced with the crossing of the North Platte river in June, where he overtook the train.

I claim four mistakes in those four sentences, and the evidence to sustain it comes from the immigrants of that year. I have never been able to assent on the one hand to Mr. Spalding's statement that Dr. Whitman originated the whole of that immigration, because the testimony of some of the immigrants is against it. Nor have I been able on the other hand to accept Governor Evans' assertion that he had nothing to do with it until he overtook it on the Platte, because the testimony of some of the immigrants is against that also. In my pamphlet from pages 26 to 31 is the testimony of fourteen of those emigrants, and I wrote to all the living immigrants of that year whose post office address I could obtain. Ten of these say that nothing that Dr. Whitman said or wrote induced them to start for Oregon, namely: Hon. L. Applegate, Hon. J. Applegate, Hon. J. M. Shively, Messrs. A. Hill, Matheny, W. J. Dougherty, S. M. Gilmore, J. B. McLane, J. G. Baker and Hon. J. W. Nesmith. Four others state that it was the representations of Dr. Whitman by a pamphlet, newspaper articles and personal conversation, which induced them to come, namely: Mrs. C. B. Carey, Hon. John Hobson, and Messrs. William Waldo and John Zachrey. All of these, I think, came from Missouri except Mr. Zachrey, who was from Texas. Mr. Hobson was from England on his way to Wisconsin, but was in St. Louis when the family met Dr. Whitman, who persuaded them to come to Oregon. Even Dr. Whitman in a letter which he wrote from Westport May, 28, 1843, says that no sheep are going "from a mistake of what I said *when passing*."

According to Hines' History of Oregon, published in 1851, even the Indians understood, before Dr. Whitman's return in 1843, that he had gone with the avowed purpose to bring back as large an immigration as possible. As far as having to get ready the fall before, even Hon. L. Applegate says it was not till the 1st of March, 1843, that he put a notice in the Booneville, Mo., *Herald* that an effort

would be made to get up an emigration for Oregon. He also says about the same time a similar effort was made in the north part of the state. Gov. P. H. Burnett, in his Recollections of An Old Pioneer (and I had nothing to do with getting up that book) says that he kept a concise journal of the trip as far as Walla Walla and I have it now before me. According to him a meeting of the emigrants was held at the rendezvous, twelve miles west of Independence, Missouri, on May 18, which adjourned to meet at Big Springs. At the first meeting a committee was appointed to see Dr. Whitman and at the second he met Dr. Whitman. (Messrs. Nesmith, Dougherty, and Gilmore agree with this statement). It was not till the 24th of July that he crossed the north fork of the Platte (pp. 101, 114). Consequently I assert that in some degree Dr. Whitman did stimulate the immigration of 1843; that he had an opportunity for meeting parties who could be influenced to come to Oregon; that all the emigrants did not have to arrange for the journey the preceding fall; and that Dr. Whitman's connection with that immigration did not begin with the crossing of the north fork of the Platte.

If I am not greatly mistaken I have seen nearly all the books from which I have quoted in Governor Evans' library, for he has been very successful in collecting works on the early history of this Northwest Coast—consequently he has had an opportunity of learning most of the facts which I have stated. From the number of mistakes which he has thus made the public must judge of the value of his article. But if he has made even half as many mistakes, been half as unsuccessful in his researches and unluky in his quotations with reference to Eastern matters on the subject where he does not live, as he has about these Western matters where he does live, has he not at least been extremely unfortunate? Both Mrs. Victor and Governor Evans have charged Mr. Spalding and Mr. Gray with strange blunders and mistakes, and yet after all of their investigation during nearly twenty years, it seems that they have made as many mistakes and as strange ones as either of these gentlemen, as I have showed in this article, and the one of *The Oregonian* of January 11—hence, is it too much to ask that in regard to some other of their statements about the affairs at Washington connected with this subject, they be required to give book and page from which they quote, so that others can verify the truth or mistake of their statements.

[From the *Sunday Oregonian* of February 15, 1885.]

THE WHITMAN CONTROVERSY.

BY ED. C. ROSS.

PRESCOTT, WALLA WALLA CO., W. T., Feb. 2.

To the Editor of the Oregonian:

My apology for not having written sooner is that by reason of the obstruction of the mail service, and the general bottled-up condition of the country, it has been impossible, in some instances, to get replies to letters of inquiry from persons whose testimony I wished to use in this article. My communication in *The Oregonian* of December 12 was written more for the purpose of repelling unjust charges, as I believed them to be, made by Mrs. Victor against the lamented Dr. Whitman, than with a view of establishing a historical fact. The Hon. Elwood Evans has replied, and had he not, in so doing, seen fit to question the veracity of the honorable living and the honored dead, I would not carry the controversy further. In so doing he exculpates Dr. Whitman from the blame that Mrs. Victor would lay him under, and then attacks the veracity of the late Rev. H. H. Spalding and other gentlemen, among whom is the Rev. Cushing Eells.

In what I shall say in reference to Mr. Evans' article, it will be my aim to avoid falling into one of the errors that he has committed, viz.: that of misrepresenting what my opponent has said. For instance—Mr. Evans says that I assume that Daniel Webster underrated Oregon and "might be able to trade it off for codfish," while my article as printed in *The Oregonian* makes no mention of any kind of trade or any kind of fish. Again, Mr. Evans represents me as saying—"Dr. Whitman was inspired at once with a thought of 'saving Oregon to the United States,' and angered by glorious Daniel Webster being the Amerisan Secretary of State." Again the print fails to show any mention by me of Dr. Whitman being "inspired at once," neither does it show any mention of his having been "angered by Daniel Webster." I have known lawyers

before who would misconstrue the meaning of language, but, in justice to the profession, will say that the instances are rare in which they will misstate the contents of a plainly printed page. Nor are these the only instances in which I am misrepresented, but as it is not myself whom I write to defend, these will suffice, and ought to make Mr. Evans a little more careful in charging "patriotic fables" and "immense afterthoughts" to men whose whole lives have been one long self-denial.

No person well acquainted with Rev. Cushing Eells has failed to notice that he has one of the most tenacious memories for minute details, and that he is always punctiliously exact in all his statements. In my boyhood, while attending his school, this characteristic of the man impressed itself on me, and with a more or less intimate acquaintance with him ever since, I have never heard a charge like the one made against him by Mr. Evans. Had he known the gentleman better he would have never made the charge.

The matter in controversy is—Did Dr. Whitman go to Washington City in the winter of 1842-43, from his mission station in Walla Walla Valley, for the purpose of aiding in saving the then Oregon to the United States?

Mr. Evans denies that Dr. Whitman went from here for that purpose, and further denies that he went to Washington City at all; denies that the doctor ever said he was going there; denies that he ever said he had been there. Mr. Evans says Dr. Whitman's errand East that winter was missionary business and not political business; that the doctor's objective point was Boston, not Washington.

To disprove the assumption that Dr. Whitman was in Washington City in March, 1843, Mr. Evans prints two letters from Hon. Alexander Ramsey, written to Mr. Evans. As these letters have lately been published in *The Oregonian*, I will simply make extracts. Mr. Ramsey says: "It is difficult to say just when it was that I saw Dr. Whitman in Washington," and "I have a recollection of how I lamented his untimely death, when I subsequently heard of the massacre of the missionary party. I have an impression that this was Dr. Whitman. I have long been under that impression." This answer evidently did not suit Mr. Evans, so, contrary to correct practice, he proceeds to cross-examine his own witness by writing him another letter. Just what he wrote is impossible for me to tell, but his evident design was to get Mr. Ram-

sey to contradict his former statement as to the identity of Dr. Whitman. One thing, however, Mr. Evans tells us that he did write to Mr. Ramsey, viz., the question "Whether he saw at Washington City in the month of March, 1843, Dr. Marcus Whitman." Mr. Ramsey replied: "As I wrote you before, I have a strong impression that I saw Dr. Whitman at Washington, and that we were made acquainted with each other by Joshua R. Giddings. It is barely possible that instead of being Dr. Whitman himself, it may have been some one else connected with the Oregon mission. I have a strong impression that after the massacre we, in our regrets, commented upon our recollections of the doctor and his party. It is possible that Mr. Tilden may have some recollection of the matter, and I would have you write him." Accordingly, Mr. Evans wrote, and Mr. Tilden replied: "Your letter of the 15th inst. is received, and I regret to say I have no recollection of the gentleman to whom you refer. I concluded from your letter that Dr. Whitman was a clergyman. Many of these made calls upon Mr. Giddings, but I am not able to recall the names of any of them. I was not in Washington in the spring of 1843, and not until the assembling of Congress in December of that year." Now, were we trying the question of fact in court as to whether or not Dr. Whitman was in Washington in the spring of 1843, I would rest the case on these three letters introduced by Mr. Evans and let the jury say on which side was the preponderance of evidence. Because Mr. Tilden can not recall the names of any of the clergymen whom he saw in Washington, Mr. Evans seems to argue that this fact strengthens his assumption that neither Mr. Tilden nor Mr. Ramsey has identified Dr. Whitman. But Mr. Tilden says that he was not in Washington in the spring of 1843. Does not that strike you, Mr. Evans, as a good and sufficient reason why he can not say that he saw Dr. Whitman there at that time? Mr. Ramsey affirms and reaffirms with as much certainty as could be expected of any man, his belief that he saw Dr. Whitman in Washington. There are few men who could, under the circumstances, after the lapse of thirty-nine years, speak more positively as to the identity of a comparative stranger. Mr. Ramsey has left yet better marks by which to identify the missionary whom he met in Washington, when he says he recollects lamenting the death of the man whom he met there, when he heard of the massacre. The mascre occurred less than five years after the time that Dr. Whitman is claimed to have been in Washington, and Mr. Ramsey recollects,

at that time, of having commented on his recollection of the doctor. Then, if the missionary whom Mr. Ramsey saw in Washington in the spring of 1843, and who was afterwards murdered at the massacre, was not Dr. Whitman, who was he? Let Mr. Evans stand up and tell us what other Oregon missionary was murdered about that time. Will he still tell us that the missionary whom Mr. Ramsey met in Washington in the spring of 1843, and who was afterwards murdered, was Rev. Jason Lee, because, as Mr. Evans tells us, Mr. Lee was in Washington a year after that time? After Mr. Evans shall have selected his victim, then let him contribute to history the name and time of murder of the missionary that he will have in Dr. Whitman's stead. Perhaps he will prefer to ignore the fact that the person whom Mr. Ramsey saw was afterwards murdered. Then I would suggest that he and Mrs. Victor compromise—drop both Lee and White, and settle on Colonel Joe Meek, who was in Washington only a few years afterwards, as his buckskins "tallied."

Thus far I have been reviewing the testimony introduced by Mr. Evans, and if he does not prove just the opposite to what he would have it do, then my scales for weighing testimony are out of order. But there is another letter from Mr. Ramsey, which Mr. Evans has not seen fit to print with the others. He was familiar with the contents, too, for this was the letter that opened the correspondence between Mr. Evans and Mr. Ramsey, and brought out the letters which Mr. Evans has published. This letter explains away Mr. Evans' intimation that Mr. Ramsey could not have seen Dr. Whitman in the spring of 1843, because, as Mr. Evans says, Mr. Ramsey did not take his seat in congress until December, 1843. Mr. Ramsey admits this in the letter, and goes on and explains how he happened to be in Washington in the winter of 1842-43, by saying: "I visited Washington and called upon Mr. Joshua Giddings, * * * When so visiting, Mr. Giddings introduced me to Dr. Whitman, who talked to me and others of the difficulties of his journey, of the character of the country, Indian affairs, British encroachments, etc." So we see that Mr. Ramsey does not claim that he was a member of congress at the time he saw Dr. Whitman—he was only a visitor. The missionary talked about the difficulties of his journey; what other Oregon missionary went east about that time who encountered any particular difficulties? I have learned to believe that Rev. Jason Lee went east not long after Dr. Whitman went, but Mr. Lee *went by water,* and I never heard that he had any difficulty in

making the voyage. The thing that must have been nearest to Dr. Whitman's heart, and the thing that had caused him to imperil his life in making that winter's journey.

Mr. Evans argues that because he did not find Dr. Whitman's name mentioned in some chronicle *Congressional Globe*, or the debates in congress, therefore the doctor could not have been there. Would Mr. Evans have us believe that a private citizen cannot visit Washington without having his name so appear? I will venture to assert that there is not one private citizen out of a hundred who visits Washington, and leaves any printed or written record of his visit, other than by ornamenting some hotel register with his sign manual. Had Mr. Evans gone to Washington to work in the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company in presenting their claims against our government, could he not have appeared and pressed those claims to his heart's content and then disapeared without his name ever having found its way into the *Globe* or having become a subject of debate in congress? I would like to know in what chronicle one would expect to find the name of each private citizen who had forty years ago interviewed the president or the secretary of state?

I never have, nor will now, attempt to reconcile all the statements of detail made by different persons, such as are characterized as the "taunting jeer," the "foaming steed" and the "buckskin clothes." I neither assent to or deny the recitals in which these recitals occur—it seems of little importance whether Dr. Whitman wore buckskin or broadcloth. Daniel Webster would not guage the value of a man's opinion by the cut of his coat or by the material that entered into the make-up of his trowsers; while Dr. Whitman was a man whose presence would command respect in any place, from the wickiup to the White House.

The journey of Dr. Whitman, made in the winter of 1842-3, from his station in Walla Walla valley to the states, was one of the most perilous, daring and remarkable feats ever accomplished by any traveler. When he undertook it, he knew what dangers he had to face, what difficulties he would have to contend with. His practical good sense would have held him back had he not been urged forward by some powerful motive, and the motive is the very thing upon which this controversy, as it now stands, must hang and hinge. In my other article I answered, whether to her satisfaction or not I cannot say, Mrs. Victor's assignment of motive. That answer seemed satisfactory to Mr. Evans, however, for while

he comes forward as her champion, I presume, he entirely ignores, and virtually disputes her position as to the actuating force that sent Dr. Whitman across the continent on that memorable winter's ride. Nevertheless her "speculations" were a more ingenious theory than that advanced by Mr. Evans. Mrs. Victor thinks that the object of Dr. Whitman was to get an office, and at the same time get his hand into Uncle Sam's pocket. Mr. Evans thinks that he went back on purely missionary business. Mrs. Victor believes that there was a meeting of the missionary board in September, 1842. Mr. Evans denies this, and in so doing calls in question the veracity of every member of that board now living. Without pointing out any other of the differences between these two historical scullers I would suggest, as they both row in the same boat, they would make more headway were they to keep stroke and both pull in the same direction.

As Mr. Evans has seen fit to propound a few questions to me as tests of my knowledge of United States history, I will take the liberty of asking if he does not know that when negotiations for settling the Oregon boundary were opened in London our Plenipotentiary took his instructions from our Government? Does he not know that those instructions were not perfected or acted upon until after the time that Dr. Whitman is said to have had his interviews with Daniel Webster and President Tyler? It seems to me quite probable that Mr. Webster may have signed these papers and have given them to the President, and that after hearing Dr. Whitman those instructions may have been withheld and others prepared. In short, whatever effect Dr. Whitman's representations of the value of this country had on the President and Secretary, that effect was not produced too late to have its full weight in shaping the subsequent negotiations concerning the Oregon boundary. Thus we see that Dr. Whitman did not arrive too late, as is claimed by those who deny that he was in time to be, in any degree, the savior of Oregon. Our Government was seeking information at the hands of traders, trappers and travelers concerning this country, but Dr. Whitman was the first farmer who had ever visited Washington from the present "Inland Empire." Would a deaf ear have been turned after an audience had once been accorded him?

"The Oregon Mission of the A. B. C. F. M., accrediting Marcus Whitman as delegate to Washington City, to make a desperate effort to save the then Oregon to the United States of America," *is what Mr. Evans* characterizes as the "immense afterthought" of

Rev. C. Eells. As no such sentence occurs in Mr. Eells' statement, it must be an immense "chimera of a diseased brain," and Mr. Evans must stand its "sponsor." Mr. Eells says, in substance, that the mission voted an approval of Dr. Whitman making the attempt to go to Washington for the purpose of doing what he could to save the then Oregon to the United States, but says nothing about "accrediting Dr. Whitman as delegate." Mr. Eells also says that it was expected that the doctor would attend to some business relating to the mission. As a proof that Mr. Eells' memory is not reliable as to events transpiring thirty-six years before he made his statement regarding the special meeting of the mission in September, 1842, in which statement Mr. Eells says Mr. Gray was present at the meeting, Mr. Evans tells us that "It is certain that he [Mr. Gray] was not at Waiilatpu after June, 1842," also "Gray had removed to the Wallamet Valley as early in 1842 as he could find conveyance to the Wallamet." In reply to these assertions of Mr. Evans, let us see what the only two survivors of the male members of that mission say as to whether Mr. Eells was right in saying that Mr. Gray was present, or as to Mr. Evans being correct in saying Mr. Gray was absent. In a letter to the writer hereof, dated January 15, 1885, written by Rev. Cushing Eells, that gentleman says: "If the statement has been, is, or shall be made, that Mr. W. H. Gray had become disconnected with the Oregon Mission of the A. B. C. F. M. in the spring of 1842, I affirm that to be a false statement; to my certain knowledge Mr. Gray was present, and participated in the meeting of the mission held at Wai-i-lat-pu, September, 1842." This letter was written at Cheney. Below I give an extract from a letter from Hon. W. H. Gray, written on the same day as that of Mr. Eells, and each in answer to letters written to these gentlemen only five days before. Mr. Gray writes from Astoria. As that place and Cheney are four hundred miles apart Mr. Evans will probably not conclude that the coincidence of dates, indicate collusion between the witnesses. Mr. Gray says he "left Waiilatpu to go to the Willamette the first of September, 1842. Returned to the station for my family on the 21st of September. I was at the annual meeting in June, 1842. There was a special called at Dr. Whitman's station in September to consult about Dr. Whitman's proposition to go to Washington to inform our Government of the proceedings and designs of the Hudson's Bay Company, first made known to me by Frank Ermatinger at what was known as Horse Plains, the usual place to meet the Flat-

head tribe, I think in May, 1837. On that occasion Ermatinger got drunk on Hudson's Bay Company rum, and, as per bargain we made, he (Ermatinger) was to drink the rum and Gray the water. On that occasion the rum became patriotic for the company and England, the water for Uncle Sam. To close the argument he said: "Pooh! what can your Government do? All the company has to do is to arm their eight hundred half-breeds and they can control the Indians and drive back any troops your Government can send across the mountains. Our navy can protect the coast." I gave up the question, but never forgot the threat, and told Dr. Whitman about it when we met the next year. "The meeting" [September, 1842], "was divided. Revs. Walker and Eells thought it not proper for him (Dr. Whitman) to leave his place for the purpose of attending to political affairs. Rev. Spalding and Gray approved his object and design, being more fully informed of the designs of the Hudson's Bay Company than the two opposing members of the mission."

Here we have the testimony of the only two surviving members of that meeting, each positively asserting that Mr. Gray was present at this special meeting in September, 1842, while Mr. Evans says that there was no meeting at that time; and that Mr. Gray was not present at any such meeting. Shall we believe the testimony of two venerable gentlemen, each of equal credibility with Mr. Evans—each of whom speak from their own personal knowledge—or shall we believe Mr. Evans, who can only speak from hearsay? At the time these two gentlemen with their associates were discussing matters which seemed to them of great importance, things not likely to ever be forgotten by them, little Elwood Evans was struggling to master the "combination" of his first pair of pants, or wondering if the chestnuts on the hills of his native Pennsylvania were not ripe, and never dreaming that the day would come when he would be able to tell these old missionaries more of their doings out here than they had ever known themselves. Have you, Mr. Evans, in this, your own chosen instance, successfully impeached the memory of Mr. Eells? Is not the preponderance of evidence with him and against you? To my mind this settles the question of credibility in favor of Mr. Eells, if, indeed, there ever has been such a question in the mind of any, other than Mr. Evans.

To prove that there was no special meeting held in September, and that no meeting had been held later than the annual meeting in June, Mr. Evans quotes from a letter written by Rev.

H. H. Spalding, January 9, 1843, this sentence: "By a vote of our mission, which went home in June, I continue at my station till we hear from the board." This is a most unfortunate quotation for Mr. Evans to make, and leaves the impression that, for the moment, he forgot which side of the case he was on. If the action of the meeting in June was what sent Dr. Whitman East, then why did he wait all summer and start only at the near approach of winter? (October 3.)

Mrs. Victor truly says that Dr. Whitman was "quick to think and act." It never took him four months—from June until October—to get ready. His determination to go would soon have been followed by his going. Even Mr. Evans will not deny that it was determined by a vote of the mission that he should go East, and I think he will have to agree with me that it was a later one than the annual meeting in June, held very shortly before the time of his starting; and, in short, the "immense afterthought" is the only tenable ground. The special meeting of September must have been held and its approving vote of the doctor's wish to make the attempt to go East, must have been his warrant for going. Nothing appears to have transpired relating to the missionary business since June, at which time they had under consideration the order from the home board to vacate the two southern stations. Then, what new business could it have been that caused this special meeting and the doctor's hasty departure? It must have been the political aspect—not the missionary business. Mr. Evans says that "no living person in Oregon or Washington prior to July 4, 1865, ever heard national motives or political influence attributed to the winter journey of Dr. Whitman in 1842–43." This is so broad an assertion that I hardly know where to take hold of it. Before me is a letter written by Rev. Horace Lyman, of Forest Grove, Oregon, dated January 16, 1885, from which I take the following extract: "I came to the coast, or rather, to Portland, in November, 1849, and although I can not state the exact date, nor the conversation in which I first heard the claim made that Dr. Whitman went East that winter—1842–43—to make the effort to save Oregon to the United States; yet this decided impression was made upon my mind within one or two years after my coming here, i. e., with my first acquaintance with Mr. Gray, Mr. Spalding, Mr. Eells, and Mr. Walker, that this was one of his great objects in going East, and the *main* one. In other words, the idea was infused into my mind by various conversations in the earliest years of my Oregon

life." Here is the testimony of a gentleman who has resided in Oregon continuously for more than thirty-five years, if we except a short residence in Walla Walla while in charge of the Whitman seminary. During all this time the writer has known, and known of, Mr. Lyman, a part of the time as student under Professor Lyman, and during all this time has never seen the person who would hint that he was not a gentlemen, truthful and reliable in every sense of the word. Yet, Mr. Lyman is at direct issue with Mr. Evans, for he dates back fifteen or sixteen years beyond the time set by Mr. Evans as the period back of which no person ever heard "political motives," etc., attributed to Dr. Whitman's visit East. Again, in Eells' pamphlet, we find a letter from Mrs. Mary R. Walker, widow of the late Rev. Elkanah Walker. Mr. and Mrs. Walker, and Mr. and Mrs. Eells were missionaries who came to this country in 1838. They were stationed on Walker's Prairie, in the Spokane Country, about one hundred and twenty-five miles from Whitman's station, and were there at the time of the famous winter ride, and still remained at their station at the time of the cruel Whitman massacre. Extracts from Mrs. Walker's letter read thus: "In answer to your inquiries about Dr. Whitman, I will say that he went East in 1842 mainly to save the country from falling into the hands of England, as he believed there was great danger of it. He had written Mr. Walker several times before about it. One expression I well remember he wrote, about as follows: 'This country will soon be settled by the whites. It belongs to the Americans. It is a great and rich country. What a country this would be for Yankees! Why not tell them of it?'" * * *
"Mr. Walker and associates felt that Dr. Whitman, in leaving his missionary work and going on this business, was likely also to bring disgrace on the cause, and were so afraid of it that for a long time they would hardly mention the object of Dr. Whitman's journey publicly." Here we have the testimony of a woman who, at a time before I was born, left home, friends, early associations, and civilization behind her, and came here to teach and civilize. If such as she are not to be believed, then to whom can we look for the truth? The statements of Mr. Gray and the Rev. C. Eells, are to the same effect. Mr. Spalding, before he died, left the same substantially on record. Every member of the mission alive at the time that these matters came into controversy, have agreed as to the main and material facts. But, there are other witnesses, and enough of them to establish the facts as represented by the missionaries. Yet I will

admit that, for many years, the matter was kept by the missionaries well among themselves, and Mrs. Walker's letters, above quoted, gives a very good reason—because it was feared that the doctor would bring disgrace on the missionary cause by leaving his post on business so foreign to the duties of a missionary—*as such*. Neither is it probable that they scattered many letters about, making mention of facts about which they hardly dared speak. With a full knowledge of these reasons for secrecy, Mr. Evans calls loudly for written proof in the shape of autograph letters, or editorials in Oregon journals, or the *Missionary Herald*. Because Mr. Eells does not produce the minutes of the meeting held at Dr. Whitman's station in 1842, at which the vote of approval of Dr. Whitman's plan for going East was cast, Mr. Evans argues that no such meeting was ever held. And he so writes, a year after the Rev. Cushing Eells had made and published his affidavit, an extract from which reads as follows :

"Record of the date and acts of the meeting was made. The book containing the same was in the keeping of the Whitman family. At the time of the massacre—November 29, 1847—it disappeared."

Here, the loss of a record has been accounted for and its contents proven. When did you learn that, under such circumstances, oral testimony could not be allowed to supply the place of a writing, Mr. Evans? He calls upon those setting up this claim for Dr. Whitman to produce an exemplification of the record that has been made up from their proceedings here and forwarded on to Boston. If such record should be brought forward it is not probable that a matter so utterly foreign to the object of the mission here would figure very conspicuously—as to that, however, I merely "speculate."

Mr. Evans denies that Dr. Whitman did, even in the most remote degree, stimulate the great immigration of 1843 ; says the doctor's connection with the immigration commenced with the crossing of the North Platte river in June, where he overtook the train; "was escorted by the train to Oregon." When it comes to making a broad superstructure of assertion, on a narrow or no foundation of truth, the gentleman from New Tacoma is the "boss." When he wrote this, Mr. Evans knew that Rev. Myron Eells had written to all of the emigrants of 1843 that he could hear of, and had received and published the answers of fourteen persons. Out of this number four said they were influenced by Dr. Whitman to

come to Oregon; the other ten said that they were not. I know no reason why we may not suppose that the doctor's influence ran through the whole number of immigrants of that year in about the same proportion. If so, we will have to give him credit for influencing nearly one-third of that year's immigration, even if Mr. Evans does say nay. It seems from the answer of some of these emigrants, that Dr. Whitman had been writing newspaper articles and had published a pamphlet descriptive of Oregon, all of which, coming from a man who actually lived here, must have had influence with those men who were so anxious to leave Missouri, Illinois, and other Western States and Territories. He was helping men to buy teams and giving them counsel; stayed back until after a portion of the emigration had started, and then came on, although we are told that his connection commenced with the emigration at the North Platte in June, and that he was "escorted" across the plains by the emigration! Would Mr. Evans have us understand that the man who had made his way across the plains the winter before, needed an escort to bring him home in the summer? Up to this time no wagon train had ever passed Fort Hall. Had Dr. Whitman not been with the train, I will not undertake to say whether the wagons would have come farther or not. As it was, Grant, the Hudson's Bay trader at that post, tried to induce the immigrants to leave their wagons, as all others had done up to that time. But the doctor insisted on taking the wagons on. Had the wagons been abandoned it is not probable that another emigrant would have tried to cross the plains for years, if ever. A letter now before me from Rev. J. S. Griffin, of Hillsboro, Oregon, tells how Dr. Whitman related this circumstance to Mr. Griffin in 1845. A letter from Hon. John Minto, of Salem, Oregon, who crossed the plains in 1844, says: "I heard Captain Grant * * * tell how he had tried to persuade the immigrants of last year (1843) that they could not get their wagons through." So it seems that Dr. Whitman was an important factor, both in stimulating the emigration of that year as well as of great service in aiding in the successful accomplishment of the undertaking. That emigration, more than any one thing, settled the Oregon question. It drew attention this way: the campaign watchword of 1844 became "Fifty-four forty, or fight," and although it was mostly buncombe, it seated Polk in the presidential chair, and thoroughly committed his administration on the Oregon question.

There is a cloud of witnesses outside of the members of the mission, whose testimony leads to the irresistible conclusion that Dr. Whitman did go to Washington, as is claimed by his associates. The late Honorable A. L. Lovejoy, who brought the news to the doctor which he considered of so much importance as to cause him to start East, and which Mr. Lovejoy thought sufficiently important to cause him to accompany the doctor, says of that journey: "Here we parted [at Bent's Fort.] The doctor proceeded to Washington. * * * He [Dr. Whitman] often expressed himself to me about the remainder of his journey, and the manner in which he was received at Washington and by the board of foreign missions at Boston. * * * He was very cordially and kindly received by the president and members of congress, and without doubt the doctor's interviews resulted greatly to the benefit of Oregon and to this coast." Dr. Wm. Barrows was teaching in St. Louis in the spring of 1843. He says: "It was my good fortune that he (Dr. Whitman) should be quartered at St. Louis as a guest under the same roof, and at the same table with myself. * * * He was happy to meet men of the army and of commerce and fur, but he must hasten on to see Daniel Webster. Exchanging saddle for stage, for the river was closed with ice, he pressed on, and arrived at Washington March 3d." We next find the doctor in the state of New York at the house of the Rev. Samuel J. Parker, whom Dr. Whitman had accompanied to the Rocky Mountains in 1835. A son of the Rev. Mr. Parker, represents Dr. Whitman as saying to his father: "I have come on a very important errand. We must both go at once to Washington or Oregon is lost, ceded to the English. * * * * I know that Dr. Whitman went, either the next day or a day or two after he came to see my father. * * * Dr. Whitman came to see my father (again) after his return from Washington, and described his interview with the President and others there." Dr. William Geiger, who was left in charge of Whitman station during the doctor's absence in 1842–3, gives the account of the visit to Washington and the interviews with Mr. Webster and President Tyler substantially as it has been given by so many others, and says that "the doctor told him of it so often that he could not forget it." And still, with all this testimony before him, Mr. Evans denies that the trip to Washington was made; denies that the doctor ever set up any such claim during "his practical and useful life."

From all testimony, I conclude that the statement of Rev. Cushing Eells is true in every respect; that the special meeting of September, 1842, was called, and did, by its vote, approve of Doctor Whitman's proposed journey, for the purposes mentioned in what Mr. Evans calls the "immense afterthought."

I conclude that the accounts of Messrs. Gray, Spalding, Atkinson, and others, are true in their main features, but shall not complain if the historian shall prune them of the "taunting jeer," and other like flights of fancy which have been added to "adorn a tale." After this shall have been done, the "romantic fabler" will show about this state of facts: That after the meeting in September had been held, and while Messrs. Eells and Walker had gone home, Dr. Whitman went to Fort Walla Walla, and there learned what caused him—not to determine to go to Washington—but that which caused him to hasten his departure by two days. With regard to the whereabouts of Messrs. Eells and Walker, at the time of this visit of Dr. Whitman to the fort, Mr. W. H. Gray writes: "They had returned (to their mission) and Dr. Whitman was making his arrangements to leave at the appointed time." A sentence from Rev. C. Eell's statement strengthens this view of the case, when he says: "It is possible that transpirings at old Fort Walla Walla hastened his departure two days."

The fact that so many witnesses, giving details of events that have transpired forty years ago, tell them in different language, or with immaterial variation as to main facts, does not impeach these witnesses. It only proves that each has told the story in his own language, and that there has been no collusion between them as to the story they should tell. While I have never doubted Daniel Webster's patriotism, or his wisdom, a quotation from a speech made by him in the Senate three years after Dr. Whitman's visit, proves that he had not yet monopolized all of the latter commodity. In speaking of a little river (a creek compared with the Columbia) down in New Brunswick, called the St. John, he says: "We have heard a vast deal lately of the value and importance of the river Columbia and its navigation; but I will undertake to say that for all purposes of human use the St. John is worth a hundred times as much as the Columbia is, or ever will be."

So I arrive at the final conclusion, that the statements of Dr. Whitman concerning the worth of this country, were of as much more value than those of Mr. Webster as are the statements of Mr. Eells concerning early events in this country than those of the Hon. Elwood Evans.

THE WHITMAN CONTROVERSY.

LETTER FROM DR. W. C. McKAY.

PORTLAND, OREGON, Feb. 21, 1885.

The various contributions to the Whitman controversy which have recently appeared in the *Oregonian* have been read with a great deal of interest. It seems, after all the chaff is sifted away, that the great point in dispute is whether Dr. Whitman visited Washington in the spring of 1843, or not. The following letter will supply another link in the chain of evidence bearing on that point. It is written by Dr. Wm. C. McKay, of Pendleton, Oregon, who is a son of Thomas McKay, of pioneer fame. Thomas McKay came out in the *Tonquin* with Astor's unfortunate expedition, occupying the position of clerk for the Pacific Fur Company. His father, Alexander McKay, was one of the partners in that enterprise, and perished a few weeks after his arrival, at the time the *Tonquin's* crew were massacred on the coast of Vancouver Island. Thomas entered the employ of the Northwest Company, successor to the Pacific Fur Company, and later of the Hudson's Bay Company when it absorbed its great rival in 1821. He afterwards became an American citizen and settled in the Willamette Valley. He commanded one of the volunteer companies in the Cayuse War. Dr. W. C. McKay was born at Astoria about 1826. His letter explains the other points necessary to show his value as a witness in this controversy. He related the facts several years ago, and this letter is in response to a request to put them in writing, made since the beginning of the controversy in the *Oregonian*:

PENDLETON, OREGON, January 30, 1885.

Dear Sir:—I take pleasure in complying with your request. I am always glad to do what I can to set Dr. Whitman right before the people. His only critics, it seems, are those who did not come here till long after his death; and the only persons who have the temerity to question his character or throw aspersions upon his motives, are those who never saw or heard of him while in the flesh.

Briefly stated, the facts are as follows:—

In 1838 my father decided to send me to Scotland to be educated, the intention being for me to cross the continent by the Manitoba route in company with the regular Montreal Express. My